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ASHTÁDHYÁYÍ OF PÁNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH



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SRÍSA CHANDRA VASU, B. A.,

Munsiff, Ghasipur.

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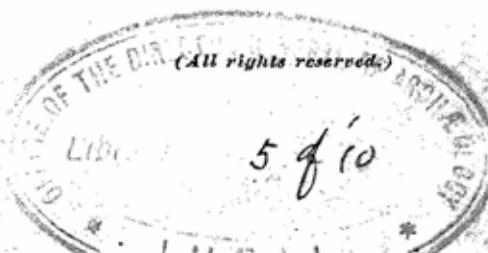
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TO THE

Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Lt., Q. C.,

CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,

AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S  
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF  
JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION

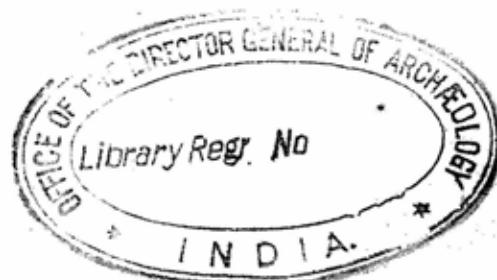
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THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated

BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT

THE TRANSLATOR.





## PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmaṇas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pānini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtādhyāyī of Pānini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar :—“The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pānini’s work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules.”

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pānini’s aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the Kāsikā. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the Kāsikā, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the Kāsikā in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pādas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

The rates of its subscription for the complete work published in eight Books or 32 chapters are as follow :—

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Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pāṇini Office,  
Allahabad.

THE PUBLISHER.

## अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:o:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपुरिसमातेर्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञास्ते वेदिसम्बाहः, प्रकृत्यु-  
पपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जयित्वा ॥

### 1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, तिज्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्भ, शकुत् in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पश् in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, इति and नाथ are upapadas, पश् is an upādhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तद्यत्, तद्य, अनीयत् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परथ स भवति धातोर्वा प्रतिपदिकादा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

### 2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātū' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्तव्यम् and तैतिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आयुदातश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आयुदातश्च स भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udātta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तद्य has udātta on the first त्, as in कुर्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udātta on the final ; those having an indicatory त have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217) ; those that have an indicatory प are anudātta ; those having an indicatory ञ, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193) ; the affixes having an indicatory ञ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197) ; the taddhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165) ; and the affix having an indicatory त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तितौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-पितौ,  
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपः पितञ्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudātta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As द्वासौ 'two stones' ; the case-affix औ is anudātta ; so also दृष्टः ; so also पचति ; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory प, and is anudāttā. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्ञकिदृभ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किदृभ्यः, सन्  
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप गोपने, तिज निशाने, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवन्ति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाव्याधिप्रतीकारेषु सन्निष्ठतेऽन्यत्र यथापासं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज् and कित्, comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्तस्ते 'he censures or despises'; तितिजत्ते 'he endures patiently'; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects'; तेजयति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्त् to which is added the third person singular termination अते=जुगुप्तस्ते.

मान्बधदानशानभ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-  
बध-दान-शानभ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्पने, दान अवखण्डने, शान भवतेजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः  
सन् प्रत्ययो भवन्ति, अभ्यासस्य चेकारस्य दीर्घदिशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्रापि सन्नर्थविशेष इष्यते ॥

6. The affix सन् comes after the verbs मान 'to honor', बध 'to bind', दान 'to cut' and शान 'to whet', and long ई is the substitute of the इ (VII. 4.79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1.4) syllable.

The सन् is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below : मीमांसते 'he investigates', वीभत्तते 'he loathes', शीर्षांसते 'the straightens', ग्रीषांसते 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of सन् becomes optional. Thus मानयति, बाधयति, दानयति and निशानयति are also valid forms.

**धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥**

**धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, ( सन्, प्रत्ययः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मेको यो धातुरितिवै समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामये वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्कायामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासञ्चन्ताप्रतिवेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix सन् is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, कृ 'to do'; चिकीर्षति=कर्तुमिच्छति 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix सन् is to be added. Thus प्रकर्तुमैच्छत् = प्राचिकीर्षत्.

Why do we say कर्मणः 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus गमनेनैच्छति ; here there is no affix. But गन्तुमिच्छति will be जिगमिषति.

Why do we say समानकर्तृकात् 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe देवदत्तस्व भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb इच्छति ; but he is not agent of the action भोजनं; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say इच्छायाम् 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe कर्तुजानाति 'he knows how to make' ; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word वा 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus कर्तुमिच्छति or चिकीर्षति.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

*Vart* : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शङ्के पतिष्ठयति कूजम् = पिपतिष्ठति कूजम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमर्दति.

*Vart* : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have ज्ञयुभिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपः, आत्मनः, क्यच्,  
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृष्टिकर्मणं एवितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुबन्तादिच्छायामये वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यच्चित् मान्ताद्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उद्दिसि परेच्छायाभिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, i. e., verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say आत्मनः? Observe राजः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is for another and not for one's own self.

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyan* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च distinguishes *kyach* from *kyan* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. I. 3.

*Vart* :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in ए, and of Indeclinables. Thus in इमिच्छति, उच्चैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

*Vart* :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा ल्वा वृका भघायवो विवन्. Here भघायु (pl. भघायवः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7; 27. 3 &c.

**काम्यच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

**उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, आचारे, (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारे यं वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रमिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

*Vart* : So also in a locative case. As प्रासादीयति कुड्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्णकीयति मंचके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

**कर्तुः क्यङ् सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, सलोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुबन्तादाचारे यं वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारत्व च जोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आचारे इवगल्भहीवहोडेष्वः क्रियन्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रतिपदिकेष्व इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa) of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, श्येनेवाचरति काकः, श्येनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsarâ'; पश्यस्यते or पश्यायते 'it becomes milk'; (श्येन + य = श्येना + य = श्येनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words ओजस् — ओजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पश्यस् where the elision is optional, as पश्यायते or पश्यस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस—हंसायते; सारस—सारसायते; here the स् is not elided as it is not final. See. I. I. 52.

*Vart* :—After the words अवगल्म, क्लीब, and होड, the affix किप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्मते or अवगल्मायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होडते or होडायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of क्यान.

*Vart* :—According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix किप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, गर्भति or गर्भायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेलौपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः,  
भुवि, अच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकोऽयोऽच्छन्तेभ्यो भुवि भवत्यथें क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति,  
हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश and the rest, which do not end with the affix चिव (V. 4. 50); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, भभृशो भृशो भवति=भृशायते 'he becomes much (from a little)'; शीत्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atmanepadi (I. 3. 12).

The phrase अच्चेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix इ', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class अव्याहि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix चिव itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix चित्, will not again take क्यट्, in that very sense. The repetition of चित् here shows that the words भृश् &c. never take the affix चित्, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains चित्.

भृशादिः ।

भृश्, शीघ्र्, मन्द्, चपल, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मनस्, अभिननस्, सुमनस्, दुर्मनस्, रहस्, रेहस्, शशवत्, बहत्, वेहत्, नृपत्, गुणि, अधर, ओजस्, वर्चस्, (विमनस्, रमन्, रोहत्, हन्, शुचिस्, अरजस्) ।

**लोहितादिडाज्ञ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-  
डाज्ञ्यः, क्यष्, (भुवि) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्ते यथा भवत्ययेऽ क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words ज्ञोहित्, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix चित् (V. 4. 50).

Thus ज्ञोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (ज्ञोहित + य=ज्ञोहिता + य=ज्ञोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *adi*, as ज्ञोहितादिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भ्रिशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the डित् affix क्यट्, while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, कहणायति or कहणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतिगण, the following being some of the words of this class; ज्ञोहित, नीज, हस्ति, पीत, मद्र, फेन and मन्द.

The indicator क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guna* and *vridhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guna* or *vridhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sārvadhātuka* or *ardhadhātuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guna* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यट् and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra न : क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू or कृ ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति or -स्यात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्यथ् follows डाच्, the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू or अस्ति.

The anuvṛitti of अच्योः comes from the last sūtra ; and hence the affix क्यथ् is added in the sense of अभूतदेशाव i.e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, ( क्यढ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थं समर्थात् क्रमणयेऽनार्जवे क्यढ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सत्रकाटकक्षकृच्छ्रगहनेभ्यः कष्टचिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यढ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट ‘mischief’, when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय कर्मणे क्रामति=कष्टायते ‘he is assiduous for trouble, i.e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots’.

*Vart* :—The affix क्यढ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सत्र, कष्ट, कज्ज, कृच्छ्र and गहन ; as, सत्रायते, कष्टायते, कज्जायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of ‘evil’, the affix is not added, as अभः कष्टं द्वामति.

कर्मणो रोमन्यतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्यत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, ( क्यढ् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्यशब्दात्पश्चाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोर्थयोः क्यढप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यढ् is employed after the words, रोमन्य ‘ruminating’ and तपस् ‘austerity’, when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्यं वर्तयति=रोमन्यायते गौः ‘the cow ruminates.’

*Vart*: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here ; as, कीटो रोमन्यं वर्तयति.

*Vart*: The Prasmaipada affixes are used after the word तपस् ; as तपश्चरति=तपस्यति, ‘he performs austerity’.

**बाष्पोष्मस्यासूद्धमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ बाष्प- ऊष्मस्यां, उद्धमने,**  
**(कर्मणः, क्यद्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ बाष्पशब्दादूषमशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्धमनेऽयं क्यद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ फेनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यद् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words बाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, बाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; ऊष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also फेनायते 'it ejects froth'.

**शब्द-वैरकलहाभ्र-करव-मेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-**  
**कलह-अभ्र-करव-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यद्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अभ्र करव मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्ययं क्यद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ सुद्धिनुर्दिननीहारेष्यचेति वक्तव्यम् ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ अटादृशीकाकोटापोटासीटाप्रहणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यद्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz :—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अभ्र 'cloud', करव 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अभ्रायते, करवायते, मेघायते ।

*Vart:*—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुद्धि, दुर्दिन and नीहार ; as, सुद्धिनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

*Vart:*—So also should be included the words अटा, अटा, शीका, कोटा, पोटा सीटा and कष्टा ; as अटायते, अटायते, शीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सीटायते and कष्टायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

**सुखादिभ्यः कर्तवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,**  
**कर्तव्य-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यद्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमादिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामयेऽनुभवे क्यद् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयित्तुश्च-  
कर्त्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यद् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure'; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent'? Observe सुखं वेदवति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, दृप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्, अलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृष्ण, सोट ।

**नमोवरिवश्चित्रङ्गः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-चित्रङ्गः, क्यच्, (करणे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ्ग इत्येतेभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz:—नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods'; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders'; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The ङ् in चित्रङ्ग् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + य (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

**पुच्छभारण्डचीवराण्णणिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भारण्ड-चीवरात्, णिङ्, (करणे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतेभ्यो णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुइसने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भारण्डात्समच्चयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवरादर्जने परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix णिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz:—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उपुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भारण्डयते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix णिङ्, the effective portion is ङ्, the other letters are servile. The ङ् indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

*Vart*—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

*Vart* :—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

*Vart* :—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wearing.

मुण्डमिश्रश्लब्धालवण्डतवस्त्रहलकलकृततूस्तेभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥

पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लब्धा-लवण्ड-तवस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तूस्तेभ्यः, णिच्, (करणे) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लब्धा लवण्ड तवस्त्र हल कल कृत तूस्त इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड ‘shaving’, मिश्र ‘mixture’, श्लब्ध ‘soft’, लवण ‘salt’, तवस्त ‘vow’, वस्त्र ‘dress’, हल ‘plough’, कल ‘strife’, कृत ‘done’, and तूस्त ‘matted hair’.

Thus मुण्डयति ‘he shaves’; मिश्रयति ‘he mixes’; श्लब्धयति ‘he softens or alleviates’; लवणयति ‘he salts’; पयोत्रतयति ‘he fasts on milk’; संबलयति ‘he covers with clothes i. e. dresses’; हलयति ‘he ploughs’; कलयति ‘he makes war’; कृतयति ‘he appreciates kindness’; वित्तूस्तयति ‘he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin’.

The affix after the word त्रत has the sense of ‘eating’ or ‘abstaining therefrom’; as पयो त्रतयति ‘he drinks milk,’ वृषज्ञानं त्रतयति ‘he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste’; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हनि and कनि the sense is that of taking ; as हनिं गृह्णाति = हनयति. The words in the sūtra are हनि and कनि and not हनि and कानि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चड् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सन् ; i.e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहनत् and अचकनत् ; and not अजीहनत् and अचीकनत्, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word स्त्रूत means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यड् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-आदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यड् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ एकाज् यो धातुईलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्तते तस्मायड् प्रत्ययो भवति, पौन-पुन्द्र-भृशार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सूचिसूचिमूल्यटपत्त्यशुणोतीनां प्रहणं यद् विधावनेकाजहनायर्थम् ॥

22. The affix यद्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhikhara* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पक् 'to cook', पापच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्वल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like प्राद् 'to go', (because the root अद् is preceded by the upasarga प्र); or जाग् 'to be awake,' (because it contains two vowels); or देख् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

*Vart*—The intensive affix यद् comes after सुचि, सूचि, मूचि, अति, भर्ति, भशि and अर्णि, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूच्यते, मोमूच्यते, अवाट्यते, अरार्यते, अशाश्यते, and प्रोर्णानूच्यते.

The affix is not added in these cases भुग्नं शोभते or भुग्नं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोहच्यते and शोशुभयते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is डित्.

नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ,  
( यद् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गतिवचनाद्वातोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं यद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यद् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चक्रम्यते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्दम्यते. After a verb of motion, the यद् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra i. e. यद् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसद्चरजपजभदहदंशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥  
लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, ( यद् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यद् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाव) comes always after the following roots, viz:—**ज्ञृ** ‘to cut off’, **सृ** ‘to sit’, **चृ** ‘to walk’, **जप्** ‘to mutter silently any sacred formula’, **जभ्** ‘to gape or yawn’, **दह्** ‘to burn’, **दश्** ‘to bite’ and **गृ** ‘to swallow’.

Thus जोन्मृप्यते ‘he cuts off badly’; सासद्यते ‘he sits badly’; चंचूर्यते ‘he walks badly’; जंजयते ‘he recites badly’; so also जंजम्यते, दन्दश्यते, निजेगिल्यते. The affix यड् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृगं जुम्पति ‘he cuts off much’.

Why do we say ‘when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant’? Observe साधु जपति ‘he recites well’. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say ‘in regard to the action denoted by the root’? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृष्टः ‘the Sūdra recites the sacred mantras’. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाश-रूपवीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोभ-  
त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यो  
णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लोभ-  
त्वच-वर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अर्थं वेदसत्यानामापुग्वक्तव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य ‘truth’ (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश ‘a fetter’, रूप ‘form’, वीणा ‘a lute’, तूल ‘cotton’, श्लोक ‘celebration’, सेना ‘an army’, लोभ ‘the hair of the body’, त्वच ‘the skin’, वर्म ‘mail’, वर्ण ‘celebration’, चूर्ण ‘powder’ and the verb of the Churādi class.

Thus सत्यापयति ‘he speaks truly’; विपाशयति ‘he unfetters or liberates’; रूपयति ‘he looks’; उपवीणयति ‘he sings with the lute’; अनुतूजयति ‘he makes a brush’; उपश्लोकयति ‘he praises in verse’; अभिषेणयति ‘he advances with the army’; अनुलोभयति ‘he rubs over the hair’; त्वचयति ‘he feels of the skin’; संवर्मयति ‘he puts on the mail armour’; वर्णयति ‘he celebrates or colors’; अवचूर्णयति he pulverises. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupātha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति ‘he steals’. So also चिन्तयति.

*Vart* :—The words अर्थ, वेद and सत्य take the augment आ॒ before the affix णिच् ; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ॑ + आपुक् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ॑ + आप् + इ॑ + अति = अर्थ॑पि + अति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called इ॑ is not elided in this case, i.e. of अर्थाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of ‘unfettering’ after the word पाश, of ‘seeing’ after रूप, of ‘singing in accompaniment’ after वीणा, of ‘brushing’ after तूङ्ग, of ‘praising’ after श्लोक, of ‘leading’ after सेना, of ‘rubbing’ after लोम; of ‘taking’ after त्वच्, of ‘putting on’ after वर्द and of ‘taking’ after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो ड्यापारः प्रेषणादिजन्मणो हेतुमान् तस्मिन्भिधेये धातोर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयस्याद्यर्थम् ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ आख्यानात्कृतस्तथाचष्टे इति णिच् कृत्कृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्च कारकम् ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ आड्लोपश्च कालात्यन्तसं योगे मर्यादायाम् ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ चिन्नीकरणे प्राप्ति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे त्वि ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कठं कारयति ‘he causes to prepare a mat’; ओदनं पाचयति ‘he makes the rice to be cooked’. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

*Vart* :—The affix comes also in the sense of ‘he does that’ after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति ‘he makes sūtra.’ So also मूत्रयति.

*Vart* :—After words ending in कृत् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is ‘he does that’. The कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधिमाचष्टे = कंसं धातयति ; बलिवन्धमाचष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति ; राजागमनमाचष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

*Vart* :—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरात्रिविवासं भाचष्टे = रात्रिं विवासयति ; here the आ of आरात्रि is elided.

*Vart* :—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of ‘making wonderful’, meaning ‘attaining that’. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो नाहिमस्यां सयोदगमनं सभावयते = सूर्यमुद्गव्यति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahismati (wonderful speed)'.

*Vart* :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix एत् after a word ending in कृत् affix, the कृत् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus पुष्ययोगं जानाति = पुष्येण योजयति. So also मधाभियोजयति.

**करहूवादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करहू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ करहूम् इत्येवमाक्षियो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix यक् is employed after the roots कण्डु 'to itch'; &c.

Thus, कण्डयति or कण्डयते 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु &c are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.'

कण्डवादिः ।

कण्डूम्, मन्तु, हणीत्, बल्गु, अल्ल, मनस्, महीहृ, लेद, लोद, इरस्, इरज्, इरझ्, दुवस्, मेधा, कुपुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिषणज्, इपुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गद्गव, एला, कोला, खेला, लिद and लोद ।

**गुप्त्यविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्त्-धूप-**  
**विच्छिपणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप्त् रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण ध्ववहारे स्तुतौ च, पन च, इत्येत्यो  
धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix आय comes after गुप्त् 'to protect', धूप 'to heat', विच्छ 'to approach', पण 'to contract or praise' and पन 'to praise'.

Thus गोपायति 'he protects'; धूपायति 'he heats'; so also, विच्छायति, पणायति, and पनायति.

The verb पण, being read along with पन 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only; so that the affix does not come after the verb पण when it means 'to make a contract'; as शतस्य पणते, सहशस्य पणते.

The verbs in आय do not take Atmanepada affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

**ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्धृणायां वर्तते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईङ्ग् comes after the sūtra root चर्ति 'to reproach'.

The indicatory ए shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as चर्तीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, चर्तीयाते, चर्तीयन्ते.

**कमेर्णिङ्ग् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमः, णिङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्णिंग्ग् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम 'to desire'.

The ए indicates *vridhhi* (VII. 2. 115) and ए shows Atmanepada ; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

**आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-  
धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईङ्ग् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ārdhadhātuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ārdhadhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the *dyā* of *gopdya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or चर्तीयिता ; कमिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ārdhadhātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ārdhadhātuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ārdhadhātuka क्लिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ārdhadhātuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus गुल्तिः or गोपाया.

**सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः,  
धातवः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take शप् &c.

**स्यतासी लूलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लू-लुटोः, (धातोः)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लूरूपमुत्सृष्टानुवन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्यथासंख्य स्यतासी प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

33. When लू् and लुट् follow, then स्य and तासी are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

ज्ञ॑ is the common expression for लूह् and लूट् formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लुट् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus कस्मियति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासी is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

**सिद्धहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when ज्ञेद् follows.

The tense called ज्ञेद् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जोपिषत्, तारिषत्, मन्दिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति विद्युत् उद्धिं इयावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वच्नति is an example of ज्ञेद् with सिप् ॥

**कास्प्रत्ययादासमन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्, आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, ( प्रत्ययः, धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कासृ शब्द कुत्साथां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेऽयथ धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययो भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कासयनेकाच इति वक्तव्यम् चुलुम्पायर्थम् ॥

35. आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when निद् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भु or अस् or कृ is added. As कासांचक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयामास 'he stole'. So also जोन्यांचक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vedas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig. Veda I. 79. 2.

*Vart*—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चुलुम्प्याङ्गकार, इरिद्राङ्गवार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्च-आदेः, च,  
गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजाविर्यो धातुर्गुरुमान् करच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णेतिथं प्रतिषेधो वन्नव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिटि follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root करच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहांचके 'he tried'; so also ऊहाङ्गके 'he guessed', एधाङ्गके 'he grieved'.

But करच्छ forms भानच्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodically long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊण्ठ 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊण्ठनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अई, Perfect आनई (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख, Perf. उखेख (VI. 4. 78) ऊखतुः, ऊखुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुई, Perf. चुकुई; पूद, Perf. सुपूदे.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः; च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दय शानगतिरक्षणेषु, अय गतौ, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिटि follows.

Thus दयाङ्गके 'he gave'; पल्लायांचके 'he ran away'; आसांचके 'he sat'.

उषविदजागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद-  
जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद जाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्याम् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz.—उष 'to burn', विद 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिटि follows.

Thus औषाङ्गकार or उद्वोध, विशाङ्गकार or विवेद, जागराङ्गकार or जज्जागर. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विवे as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

**भीह्रीभृहुवां श्लुवच् ॥३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ह्री-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, ( आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ही लड्जायाम्, डुभृज् धारणापीषणयोः, हु दानादानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आमप्रत्ययो भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, इत्याविव चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when निटि follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', श्री 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to Hvâdi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभयाङ्गकार or विभाय, जिह्याङ्गकार or जिह्याय, विभराङ्गकार or वभार, जुहवाङ्गकार or जुहाव.

**कृश्नानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कृञ्ज, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आमप्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृश्नानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञ्जिति प्रत्याहारेण कृञ्जवल्लयो गृह्यन्त तर्सामर्थ्यावस्तेर्भूआवो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when निटि follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the निटि affixes which are अर्धाद्धतुka affixes. Thus पाचयाङ्गकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

**विदाङ्गकुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्गकुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विदाङ्गकुर्वन्तिवत्येतदन्यतरस्याम् निपातयते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्गकुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विवे 'to know,' when followed by ज्ञोऽ or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of ज्ञोऽ are then elided by *luk*; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*

as required by VII. 3. 86 ; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाम्, we annex to it the ज्ञोऽ् of the verb कृ ; thus we have विदाकुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदंकुर्वन्तु in the aphorism ; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed ; as विद्धुरोतु विद्धकुरुताम् &c.

अभ्युत्सादयांप्रजनयांचिक्यांरमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद्विदाम्-  
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्सादयाम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिक्याम्-  
रमयामकः, पावयांक्रियाद्-विदामक्न्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्सादयामित्येवमात्र्यः छन्दसि विषयेऽन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्सादयामकः प्रजनयामकः चिक्यामकः रमयामकः पावयांक्रियाद् विदामक्न् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (ज्ञुङ्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport' : to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root लु 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix लिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (ज्ञिङ्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अक्न् is employed. These are the archaic forms ; their modern forms are as follow :— अभ्युदसीषदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाव्याद्, अवेदिषुः ।

चिल लुडि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिल, लुडि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः चिल प्रत्ययो भवति लुडि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix चिङ् is added to the verbal root.

The इ of चिङ् is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicatory च has *uddatta* on its final. Then remains only ज्ञि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact चिङ् is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

चलेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलेः सिज्जादेशो भवति ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ स्फृशमृशकृष्टपृष्ठपां सिङ्घवा वक्तव्यः ॥

## 44. Of चिन्, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the अ is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.			
	sing.	dual	plural	sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	स्व	स्म	सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd pers.	सीः	स्तं, सं	स्त, त	स्थाः, याः	साथा	ध्वं
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तो, तो	सुः	स्त, त	सातां	सत

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पृश् 'to touch', सूर् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', लृप् 'to become satisfied', and दृप् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पृश् has three forms; अस्पाक्षीत्, अस्पाक्षीत् or अस्पृशत्. Similarly सूर् has अस्त्राक्षीत्, अस्त्राक्षीत् or असृशत्; कृष्, अकार्षीत्, अकार्षीत् or अकृशत्; दृप्, अताप्सीत्, अत्राप्सीत् or अदृपत्; हृप्, अद्राप्सीत्, अद्वाप्सीत् or अहृपत्।

शल् इगुपधादनिटः क्सः॥ ४५॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्,  
अनिटः, क्सः, (च्लेः, लुडि) ॥

दृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्जेरनिटः, क्स आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शम consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), क्स is the substitute of चिन्.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with क्स are as follow:

Parasmaipada.			Atmanepada.			
	sing.	dual	plural	sing.	dual	plural
1st pers.	सं	साव	साम्	सि	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd pers.	सः	सतं	सत	सथाः, याः	साथाम्	सध्वम्, ध्वम्
3rd pers.	सत्	सतो	सन्	सत, त	सातां	सन्त

As, मृश् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with क्स as अमृशत् and अकृशत्; so दृह् 'to milk' forms अधुज्ञत् 'he milked', लिह् 'to lick' अज्ञिज्ञत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स and ह'? Observe अभैसीत्, अच्छैसीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or औ'? Observe अधाक्षीत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अकोषीत् and अमोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

शिलष आलिंगने ॥ ४६॥ पदानि ॥ शिलषः, आलिंगने, (च्लेः, क्सः) ॥  
दृत्तिः ॥ दिलयेर्धातोराजिङ्गुनक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः क्स आदेशो भवति ॥

46. क्स is the substitute of चिन् after the verb शिलष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिङ्गत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समारिज्जनज्ञतुकाष्ठम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दूशः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दूशः, (चलेः, वसः) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेऽर्धातोः परस्य चलेः क्सावैश्चो न भवति ॥

47. वस is not the substitute of चिन after the verb दृश 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining वस. The root दृग् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अह् and सिच्; as अदर्शत् or अद्राशीत् 'he saw'.

णिश्रिदुसुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चड् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ णि-श्रि-दु-सुभ्यः,  
कर्त्तरि, चड्, (चलेः, लुडि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्ते धातुभ्यः धातुभ्यः श्रिदुष्ट्रियतेभ्यश्च परस्य चलेऽचडावैश्चो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि  
लुडि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमेहपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb श्रि 'to serve', द्र् 'to run', and ल् 'to drop', चड् is the substitute of चिन, when लुड् follows signifying an agent.

The ण prevents guna and vriddhi and च is to distinguish it from अह्. When चड् is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चड् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिभियत् 'he served or went'; अदुद्रवत् 'he ran'; असुसुयत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारविधाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिड् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the Vārtika makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिड्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अचकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिड्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94).

विभाषा धेट्-श्वोः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धेट्-श्वोः,  
(चलेः, चड्, कर्त्तरि, लुडि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् पाने, दुधोरिव गतिवृद्ध्योः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य चलेऽर्विभाषा चडावैश्चो भवति ॥

49. After the roots धे 'to suck', and श्रिव 'to grow', चड् is optionally the substitute of चिन, when लुड् follows signifying an agent.

As, अधत्, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिंच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अधात् and अधासीत्, 'he sucked'. So also of श्वि, we have अश्विश्वत्, 'he grew'. It also takes the अङ् (III. I. 58) and then its form is अश्वत् or अश्वीत्.

गुपेश्वन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुडि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपे : परस्व अज्ञेश्वन्दसि विषये विभाषा चडावेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of चिन् in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आय (II. I. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावहणौ यत् गृहान् अजुगुपतम् 'Mitra Varuna protected these our houses'. The other forms are अगौप्तम्, अगोपिष्टम् or अगोपाच्यष्टम्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नैनयतिश्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-  
श्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छन्दसि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इन प्रेरणे, अर्दं गतौ याचने च, एतेभ्यो धातु भ्यो  
पयन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेण अज्ञेश्विनि प्राप्ते छन्दसि विषयं न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', इन 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of चिन् in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas ; औनिनत् in the classical literature ; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत् ; their classical forms being अश्वनत्, ऐलिनत्, and आर्दिनत्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pānini VII 2, 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-  
ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुडि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वच परिक्षापणे, ब्रूपावेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, चक्षिष्ठावेशो वा, एत्यः  
परस्व अज्ञेरडावेशो भवति कर्त्तव्याचिनि लुडि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अस् 'to throw', वच 'to speak', and ख्या 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of चिन्, when लुडि follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of शू (II. 4. 53) and so also ख्या may be the root, or the substitute of चक् (II. 4. 54). The root अस् belonging to the द्वितीयि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुष्टादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipada

by rule III. i. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atamanepada also ; as पर्यास्थत् (VII. 4. 17), अवोचत् and आख्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्यासिष्ठाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-हृवः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुडि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपवेहे, सिच ज्ञरणे, हृव् स्वर्द्धयां एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, च्जेरडावेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and हृ 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्जि when लुड् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अन्निपत् 'he painted or wrote'; असिचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आहूत् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनैपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनैपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, हृवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्वा आत्मनैपदेषु परतः च्जेरडावेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and हृ, अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्जि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अन्निपत् or अन्निप्त 'he painted'; असिचत् or असिच्च 'he sprinkled'; आहूत् or आहासत् 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यूदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृहृ-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिद्युतो द्युतादिभ्यः लृदिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्य च्जेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अङ्गवेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्जि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युत्, अद्युतत् 'he shone'; गम्लृ, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as द्युयोतिट्, अज्ञोतिष्ठ.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स गतौ, शासु भनुशिदौ, कर गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्जेरडावेशो भवति ॥

56. After the verbs चु 'to go', शाच् 'to order', and चर् 'to go', अङ् is the substitute of चिन् in the Parasmaipada as well as in the Atmanepada.

Thus असरत् 'he went'; अशिषत् 'he ordered'; आरत् 'he went'. This sūtra has been separately enunciated in order to make the rule applicable to Atmanepada; as समरन्त (I. 3. 29). The च in the text is for the sake of drawing the anuvritti of the phrase 'in the Parasmaipada' of the last sūtra, into the present and its anuvritti will extend to future sūtras also.

**इरितो वा ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इर्-इतः, वा, ( च्छेः, अङ् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इरितोधातोः परस्य च्छेरडादेशो वा भवति ॥

57. अङ् is optionally the substitute of चिन् after that root which has an indicatory इर्, when the Parasmaipada terminations are employed.

Thus from भिदिर् (भिद) 'to divide', we derive अभिदत् or अभैस्तीत्. But we have अभित् in the Atmanepada. So from द्विदिर् — अच्छिदत् or अच्छैस्तीत्.

**जृस्तम्भुचुम्लुचुयुचुर्गलुचुग्नुश्वभ्यश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ जृ-स्तम्भु-स्तुचु-स्तुयु-ग्नुचु-ग्नुग्नु-श्वभ्यः, ( ह्वेः, अङ्, वा ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जृ स्तम्भु चुचु म्लुचु मुचु ग्नुचु ग्नुग्नु श्व. एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः परस्य च्छेवा अङ्गादेशो भवति ॥

58. And, optionally अङ् is the substitute of चिन् after the verbs चृ 'to grow old', स्तम्भ् 'to stiffen' चुच् and म्लुच् 'to go', ग्नुच् and ग्नुग्नु 'to steal', ग्नुग्नु 'to go' and श्व 'to grow', when the terminiations of the Parasmaipada are employed.

Thus अजरत् or अजारीत् 'he grew old'; अस्तम्भत् or अस्तम्भीत् 'he stiffened'; अचुचत् or अचोचीत् 'he went'; अम्लुचत् or अम्लोचीत् 'he went'; अम्लुचत् or अम्लोचीत् 'he went'; अग्नुचत् or अग्नोचीत् 'he stole'; अग्नुग्नुत् or अग्नोग्नुत् 'he stole'; अग्नुचत् or अग्नुचीत् 'he went'; अश्वत्, अश्वीत् or अशिश्वयत् 'he grew'. The roots ग्नुच् and ग्नुग्नु both give rise to the same three forms, viz. अग्नुचत्, अग्नुग्नुत् and अग्नोग्नुत्. The use of one root would, therefore, have served the purpose. The employment of both indicates separateness of their meanings. Others say that the use of both roots indicates that in the case of ग्नुग्नु, the nasal is never elided. Thus the Aorist of ग्नुग्नु will be अग्नुग्नुत् and अग्नोग्नुत्.

**कम्बूरुहिभ्यप्रद्वन्द्वि ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ-सृ-दू-हिभ्यः, द्वन्द्वि ( ह्वेः, अङ् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ रुहि इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य चज्ञे: छन्दसि विषये शावेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', रु 'to tear', and रुह 'to rise', अब् is the substitute of चिन्न when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अहरत् 'he tore'; आहरत् 'he rose'. See Rig Veda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षत्, अमृत्, अदारीत्, and अहरत्.

**चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, (ह्नः : ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पद गतौ असाध्वातोः परस्य चज्ञेश्चिणावेशो भवति तशब्दे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of चिन्न after the verb पद 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपाहि 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपसाताम् 'they two went'; अपत्सत् 'they went'; अद्+पद+चिण्+त=अ+पाह+इ=अपाहि (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

**दीपजनबुध्यूरितायिप्यायिभ्योन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥  
दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (ह्नः, चिण्, ते) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य चज्ञेश्चिणावेशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of चिन्न, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs शिएः 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर् 'to be full', ताय् 'to extend or protect' and प्याय् 'to smell'.

Thus अशीषि or अशीषिट् 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिट् 'he was produced'; अजोषि or अजबुध् 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिट् 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिट् 'he extended'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिट् 'he grew'.

**अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (ह्नः, ते, चिण्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्तावधातोः परस्य चज्ञे: कर्मकर्त्तरि तशब्दे परतश्चिणावेशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of चिन्न when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflective verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflective verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as अकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself'. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तिविभाषा). Therefore we have also अकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly भन्नावि or अन्नविद्य केदारः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself'.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i.e. in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflective voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काटम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन.

**दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (चले:, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह प्रपूरणे, असात्परस्य चलेश्चिणादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of चिन् after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when न follows.

Thus अदेहि or अदुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, e.g. अदेहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

**न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (चले:, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर आवरणे, असात्परस्य चले: कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणादेशो न भवति ॥**

64. चिण् is not the substitute of चिन्, after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववाहद्व गौ स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, e.g. अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

**तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, ह्वः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, असात्परस्य चलेश्चिणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of चिन् after the verb तप 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप ; as अतप तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; अन्वतप पापेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

**चिण् भावकर्मणोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मणोः, (ह्वः, चिण्, ते) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य चलेभ्यशास्यो भवति भावे कर्मणि तश्च ए परतः ॥

66. चिष्ठ is the substitute of चिन when त of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally ; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अशयि भवता 'it was lain by you i. e. you lay'; अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिष्ठ here is for the sake of distinctness.

**सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाच्चनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शृण्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs ; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते मासः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridddhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

**कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तव्याच्चनि सार्वधातुके परतोधातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भू class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory श makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudātta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भू+शप्+तिप्=भू+अ+ति=भौ+अ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

**दिवादिष्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिष्यः, श्यन्, (सार्व-धातुके, कर्त्तरि, ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिष्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Di-vadi class, when a सार्वधातुक affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *uddātta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix ; and the indicatory श makes the affix सार्वधातुक ; as दिव्+श्यन्+

तिप् = वीच् + च + ति (VII. 2. 77) = वीच्यति ; so also सीच्यति. The *Divādi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राशभ्लाशभ्रमुक्लमुत्रसित्रुटिलषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्लमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि, इयन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्लमु त्रसि त्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा-इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix इयन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश 'to shine', भ्लाश 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्लम् 'to walk', त्रम् 'to be sad', त्रस् 'to fear', त्रुटि 'to cut', and लष 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्रम्यति 'he whirls'; भ्रामति or भ्राम्यति 'he walks'; त्रामति or त्राम्यति 'he is sad'. So also त्रस्यति or त्रसति ; त्रुटिति or त्रुटिः ; लष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (इयन्, वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यसोऽनुपसर्गादा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the verb बस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आयस्यति, प्रयस्यति. The root बस् belongs to the *Divādi* class.

संयसश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (इयन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्णाच्च यसेवा इयन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix इयन् is optionally employed after the root बस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सम्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः इनुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, इनुः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु-अभिषब्दे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः इनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix इनु comes after the roots of *Svâdi* class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent follows.

This debars शृ॒प्. As सु+इनु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

**श्रुवः शृ॒च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ॒च, (श्नुः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः इनुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्संनियोगेन श्रुवः गृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

74. And गृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix इनु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+इनु+तिप् = शृ॒च+नु॒ति॑=शृणीति 'he hears'; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

**अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (श्नुः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्षू व्याप्तौ भौवादिकः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां इनुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षणोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

**तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, श्नुः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तनू त्वक्षू तनुकरणे, अस्मात्तनुकरणे वर्तमानादन्यतरस्यां इनु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix इनु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षणोति काष्ठे॑ 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाचिभः 'he cuts with speech'.

**तुदादिस्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिस्यः, शः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तुदू व्यथने, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शृ॒प्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुदू+श+ति = तुदू+अ॒+ति॑ = तुदति॑ (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

**रुधादिस्यः इनम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिस्यः, इनम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् भावरणे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो इनम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix इनम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory म् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध्+इनम्+ति=रुध्+न+ति=रु+न+ध्+ति=रुणद्वि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनति 'he splits'. The indicatory शा is for the sake of sûtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिकञ्च्य उः ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-कञ्च्यः, उः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृत्रथ उप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârvâdhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन्+उ+ति=तनोति 'he expands'; कृ+उ+ति=करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sûtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत and भकृत्याः; the सिच्च elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विकरव्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-करव्योः, अ, च,  
(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि प्रीणनाथोः कृवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्द्वात्ययोरुप्रत्ययो  
भवत्यकारशान्तावेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृषिव 'to hurt', when a sârvâdhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्वि or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्वि + उ+ति = धिन्+अ+उ+ति = धिन्+उ+ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârvâdhâtuka or an ârdha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sûtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthânivat*), and thus prevents *guna*.

क्र्यादिभ्यः इना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, इना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एक्रीञ्ज द्रव्यविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः इनाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix इना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârvâdhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As क्री + इना + तिप् = क्रीणाति 'he buys'. So also श्रीणाति 'he pleases'.

**स्तम्भुस्तुम्भुस्कम्भुस्कुम्भुज्म्यः इनुश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥**  
**स्तम्भु-स्तुम्भु-स्कम्भु-स्कुम्भु-स्कुज्म्यः, इनुः, च, (इना) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भु स्तुम्भु स्कम्भु स्कुम्भु एतेभ्यः इनाप्रत्ययो भवति इनुश्च ॥

82 And there is the affix इना after स्तम्भ, स्तुम्भ, स्कम्भ or स्कुम्भ 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible', 'to support', and स्कु 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix इन्, when a sārvadhatuka affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As स्तभाति or स्तम्भोति, स्तुभाति or स्तुम्भोति, स्कभाति or स्कुभोति, स्कुनाति or स्कुनोति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhātupātha and are to be found in the sūtras, and hence called Saṅkuta roots.

**हलः इनः शानच्चै ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, इनः, शानच्-है ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य इनाप्रत्ययस्य शानजावेशो भवति है परतः ॥

83. The affix शानच् is the substitute of इना after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोह् or the Imperative mood. Thus पृष्ठाण् 'do thou nourish', गृहाण् 'do thou take', from roots पृष् and ग्रह which end with consonants. But we have क्रीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of इना in the sūtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

**छन्दसि शायजपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, शायच्, अपि,**  
**(हलः, इनः, शानच्, है) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये इनः शायजावेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, शायच् is also the substitute of इना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्या मध्, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix शायच् is also employed; as बधान पशून् 'kill the beasts'.

**व्यत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यत्ययः, बहुलम्, (छन्दसि,**  
**शवादयः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यथायथं विकरणाः शवादयो विहितास्तेषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यत्ययो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaranas शप् and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति instead of भिनति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e. g. शुश्मस्य आण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma ; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11) ; here there is मरते = मृ + शप् + ते instead of भ्रियते ; the root मृ belonging to the Tūdādi class. So also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रो वस्ते न नेष्टतु 'May Indra lead by this abode' ; here there is नेष्टतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative ज्ञोद् of the root नो 'to lead' ; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नवतु = (नो + शप् + तु) ; इन्द्रेण युजा तहवेम वृत्रम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तस्येन (त् + त + सिप् + शप् + अम्) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (जिङ्ग) of the root त्, the classical form being तटेन or तीर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes ; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृत्, and तद्वित् affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यज् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्गाशिष्टाङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गि, आशिषि, अङ्,  
(क्लन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो जिङ्ग तस्मिन्परतत्त्वान्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दृशोरग्नकव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्ग) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are अर्धाधातुका by III. 4. 116 ; but in the Vedas they are सार्वाधातुका as well ; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गम्, वच्, वश्, शक् and रुह ; as उपस्थ्येत्यम् ; सत्वमुपगेयं ; गमेत् जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र योवेमाभये ; विवेनां मनसि प्रविष्टां ; व्रतम् चरित्यामि तच्छकेत्यम् ; स्वर्गे लोकमारुहेत्यम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused गुणा by rule VII. 4. 16. ; to prevent this, अक् is ordained ; as पितरं च दृशेय मातरं च 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा,  
तुल्य-क्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुच्यक्रियः कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The न denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a ज denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or न, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or न denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of अक् (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of चिण् for चिन् (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus भियते काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'; अभेदि काष्ठं स्वयमेव 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object: and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word वत् 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus भियते कुसूलेन.

The word कर्मणा 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulyakriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus साधसिद्धन्ति 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also साधु स्थाली पचति 'the pot cooks well'; here स्थाली is a location.

This 'karma-vad-bhāva, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

**तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव,**  
**(कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, भस्य कर्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb तप् 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word तपस् itself.

Thus तप्यते तपस्तापसः: 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in उत्पत्ति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः: 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

**न दुहस्तुनमां यक्चिगौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्तु-नमां,**  
**यक्-चिगौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्तु नम् इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्त्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मवद्वापसिद्धौ न भवतः ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिणौः प्रतिषेधे णिश्रन्त्यमन्त्यन्त्रासनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह 'to milk', स्तु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुहें, अदुहें or अदोहि गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्तुते or प्रास्तोष्ट गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनंतत दण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs अन्त्य 'to loosen', घन्त्य 'to compose' and न्त्रु 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकरत् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; अधनीते 'it loosens of itself'; अघच्छिन्द 'it loosened of itself'; घनीते; अघच्छिन्द 'it composes or composed of itself'; न्त्रुते and अबोचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट माणवकः स्वयमेव.

**कुषिरख्नोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुषि-रख्नोः,**  
**प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, ( कर्मकर्त्तरि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कुष निष्कर्षं, रख्न राग, अनयोर्धात्मोः कर्मकर्त्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां नतेन श्यन् प्रस्थयोः भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुष 'to pull', and रख्न 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कुष्यति पाहः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रङ्गति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कुष्यते and रङ्गते.

**धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ दृतीयाद्यायपरिसमाप्तेऽर्दित ऋद्धर्वमनुक-  
मिष्यामो धातोरित्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृत्य् affixes, which will be described later on.

**तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्यम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-**

**स्यम्, ( धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैत्यन्धात्वधिकारे दत्तीये यस्सत्तमी निर्दिष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependent word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + भए = कुम्भकारः 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

**कृदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृद्, अ-तिङ्, ( धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्-वर्जितः प्रत्ययः कुसंज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृ + तव्य = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

**वा॒सूल॒पो॑अस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असूल॑पः, अस्त्रियाम्,**

**( धातोः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे उत्तमानरूपः प्रत्ययो उपवासो वा बाधको भवति स्त्रयधिकार-विहितप्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes व्युन् and द्रच् (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix क after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots ज्ञा, श्री and क् is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes व्युन् and द्रच् also. Thus ज्ञिप् is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyāhāra इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix क will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus विज्ञिप्+क = विज्ञिप्+अ = विज्ञिपः; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally विज्ञिप्+व्युन् = विज्ञेपकः; and विज्ञिप्+द्र = विज्ञेद्र् nom. sing. विज्ञेत्रा.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes अरा and क are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form i. e. अ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2, 1. ordaining अरा as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining क, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus गो+श+क = गोऽः 'giver of cows'. So also कस्त्रङ् 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix अरा.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (असरूप) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes क, अरा, अच्, ए &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining जिन् in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining अ after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though अ and ति are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots चिकीर्ष and जिहीर्ष will form feminine nouns in आ and not by किन्. Thus चिकीर्षा and जिहीर्षा and not चिकीर्षति &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्गवुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, गवुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुन्नल्लभाविति वक्ष्यति प्रागतस्माण्णुन्संशब्दनायानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमित्यामः  
कृत्यसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितन्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism उल्लभौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of Kritya.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीव &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *udus* conveying the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,

( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसेस्तव्यत् कर्त्तव्यिच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केनिमरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र् indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 *ante* of this chapter.

Thus कृ+तव्यत् = कर्तव्यम्, and कृ+तव्य = कर्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ+अनीयर् = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

*Vart:*—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ए. The force of ए is to cause vriddhi. Thus वस्+तव्यत् = वासतव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

*Vart:*—The affix केनिमर् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पचेनिमा माशः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; भिंडेल्लिनानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split i.e. fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (i.e. in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवः, यत्, ( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्वातोर्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ तकिगुसि चतियति जनीना मुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter त् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udātta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत् = गेय, noun sing. गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जेयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and गा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from द्वे 'to cut', we have the desiderative root दिस्त्, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ārdhadhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes दिस्त्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus दिस्त्यम् 'what is wished to be cut'; दिस्त्यम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly न्त् before ārdhadhātuka affixes becomes न्तो, the ओ is changed into अ॒ before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is न्त्य. The root न्त्य however takes यत् and not ण्यत्; as न्त्यो, पञ्चम्, &c.

*Vart* :—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शत् 'to leap', चत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तक्यम्, शत्यम्, चत्यम्, यत्यम्, and जन्यम्.

*Vart* :—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' वध् is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or धात्यम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध् substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into घ, and न into त and causes vriddhi.

पोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ घोः, अद्-उपधात्, ( धातोः यत् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदगान्ताद्वातोरकातोपधाद् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars ष्यत्; thus शप् + यत् = शप्यं 'to be sworn'; लभ् + यत् = लभ्यम् 'to be acquired'.

Why do we say 'which ends in a labial'? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short अ, the root will take ष्यत्; thus पच् + ष्यत् = पाक्यम् 'what is to be cooked'; वाक्यम् 'speech'.

Why do we say 'when preceded by a short अ'? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take ष्यत्; thus कुप् + ष्यत् = कौप्यम् 'to be angry'; so also गोप्यम् 'to be concealed'.

The word अत् is used in the sūtra in the original. The force of त् here is, by I. i. 70, that short अ having one mātrā or prosodial length is to be taken and not long आ. Therefore, after the root आप् 'to obtain', we have ष्यत् and not यत्; thus आप्यम् 'to be reached' i.e. 'attainable'.

**शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्षुशक्तौ, सह मर्दणे, अनयोर्धात्वीर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix यत् comes after the roots शक् 'to be able', and सह 'to bear'.

Thus शक्यम् 'possible'; सह्यम् 'endurable'.

**गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मद चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराङ्गि चामूर्ति ॥

100. The affix यत् comes after the roots गद् 'to speak', मद् 'to be mad', चर् 'to go, to eat', and यम् 'to restrain', when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus गच्यम् 'what is to be spoken, i.e. prose'; मध्यम् 'wine'; चर्यम् 'what is to be followed'; यम्यम् 'what is to be restrained'.

Why do we say 'when not preceded by a preposition'? When compounded with an upasarga, these roots will take ष्यत्; thus प्रगायम्; प्रमायम् &c.

The root यम् would have taken the affix यत् by sūtra 98 also, as it ends in म and is preceded by अ; its separate enumeration in this sūtra is in order to show, that the compound verb यम् will not take the affix यत्. Therefore with regard to यम्, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

*Vart* :—The root चर when preceded by the preposition आच् takes the यत् affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus आचर्यै देशः 'an approachable or communicable country'. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes ष्यत्; thus आचर्यः 'a preceptor'.

अवद्यपरयवर्यो गहूर्येपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥  
अवद्य-परय-वर्योः, गहूर्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवय परय वर्या इत्येते शब्दा निपातयन्ते गर्ह्यं पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वेषु  
व्यासंखयम् ॥

101. The words भवय, परय and वर्या are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, भवयं पाणं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुष्म. This is formed by adding the affix वृश्च to the root वृ by III. i. 106. So also परयः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पर्याः गोः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाणवम्, formed by the addition of प्रवृत्. So also शतेन वर्या 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वर्या 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृत्या from the root वृ 'to choose'. वर्या means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वर्या in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वर्या कृत्विजः.

वहूर्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहूर्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहेद्यतोः करणे वहप्रत्ययो निपातयते ॥

102. The word वर्या is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वहा is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e., that by which a thing is carried; as वहा शक्तम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix प्रवृत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नह गतौ, अस्माप्यति प्राते, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिवैश्ययोर्यत्प्रस्ययो निपातयते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतो उनाव इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राते, स्वामिन्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च यन्त्रज्ञम् ॥

103. The word अर्या is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaisya'.

The root ज्ञा 'to go', would have taken प्रवृत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaisya' caste. As अर्यः स्वामी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaisya'.

*Vart:* Though by VI. i. 213, the affix यत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्या, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaisya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix प्रवृत्; as भार्यो ग्राम्यः 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

**उपसर्या काल्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्या, काल्या,  
प्रजने ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्येति निपात्यते काल्या चेत्यजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्या is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्या is formed by adding यत् affix to the root उ 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word काल्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्या गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्या वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix यत् will be used; as उपसर्या शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

**अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेत्यवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जृ + यत् = अजर्यम्.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽल्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्यसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

**वदः सुषि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुषि, क्यप्, च,  
(यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वदेधातोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गी क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारायच्च ॥

106. After the root वद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 *ante*. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुषि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म + वद् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + वद् + य = ब्रह्मोयम्; ब्रह्म + वद् + यत् = ब्रह्मवयम् 'told by the Vedas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योयम् or सत्यवयम् 'truth-mouthing'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वद् + यत् = वायम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाद्यम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix व्यत् and not by यत् or क्यप्.

**भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, सुषिपि, क्यप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धांतोः सुबन्तउपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix क्यप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुषिपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvritti* of यत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभूयं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmanhood'; देवभूयं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sutra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take यत्; as भू+यत् = भो+यत् = भव्यम् (VI. I. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रभव्यम्.

**हनस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, त, च, (सुषिपि, अनुपसर्गे, क्यप्, भावे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हनतेर्धांतोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारचान्ताकेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix क्यप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुषिपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म+हन्+क्यप् = ब्रह्म+हत्+य = ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहत्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is घातः 'a blow' (हन्+ण्ण+घम्). This verb does not take the affix व्यत् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रधातो वर्तते 'there is a combat'.

**एतिस्तुशास्वद्गुणः क्यप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्व-द-दृ-जुघः, क्यप् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास्व वृ दृ जुघः इत्येतेभ्यः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शास्त्रितुहि गुहिभ्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाद्र पूर्वाद्यज्ञः संतातामुपस्थयानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', वृ 'to respect' and जुष् 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of सुषि, अनुपसर्गं and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus इ+क्यप्=इ+त+य (VI. I. 71) = इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. I. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कृत् affix, with an indicator य follows'. So also स्तु+क्यप्=स्तुत्यः 'to be praised'; शास्+क्यप्=शिश्+य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34)=शिष्यः 'to be instructed i.e. a pupil'. So also वृ+क्यप्=वृत्यः 'to be chosen'; आवृ+क्यप्=आवृत्यः 'to be honoured'; जुष्+क्यप्=जुष्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires एत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अवश्रय स्तुत्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृत् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृह्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या क्षमित्वजः.

*Vart:*—The roots शास् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गुह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शस्यम् or शास्यम् (VI. 4. 37); दुद्धम् or हीद्धम्, गुह्यम् or ग्रोह्यम्.

*Vart:*—The verb अंज् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आ॒, takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ+अंज्+क्यप्=आज्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

*Obj.*—How do you explain the form उपेयम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इण् of the Adādi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चाकृपिच्छृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋदु-उपधात्, च,  
अकृपि-चृतेः, ( क्यप् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च भावोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति कृपिच्छृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणी त्वं जेष्वद्वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short च, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृत् 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत्+क्यप्=पृथम्; so also वृध्यम्. But कृप् and चृत् will form काम्बुम्, and चर्यम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in कृत्? It is to indicate that short च

is meant and not long ऋ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take प्यत् and form कीरत्यम्.

*Vart* :—The root सूज् takes the affix प्यत् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्वा रञ्जः 'a rope'.

*Vart* :—The root सूज् when preceded by both सम् and भव takes प्यत् as समवसर्वा.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारशान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन् 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + य = खेयम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्णद्विभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृत् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृय Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i.e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ + प्यत् = आर्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

*Vart* :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृत्या: or संभार्याः.

भृजेविभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ भृजेर्धातोविभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root भृत् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāshā*. By rule 110 ante, the root भृत् having a penultimate ऋ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिभृत्यः or परिमार्गः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिभृत् + प्यत् (III. 1. 124) = परिषुग् + य (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्गः (VII. 2. 114)

**राजसूयसूर्यसृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकुष्टपच्याव्यथा:** ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥  
**राजसूय-सूर्य-सृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कुष्ट-पच्य-अव्यथा:**, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कुष्ट पच्य अव्यथा इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपात्यन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्य सृषोद्य रुच्य कुप्य कुष्ट पच्य and अव्यथा are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राजा सोत्यः or राजा इह सूर्यते, राज + सू + क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasूय' or coronation sacrifice.

Similarly रु or सू + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सर्वति) in the sky ; or that which impels (सुवति) creation to action. सृष्ट + यत् + क्यप् = सृष्टीयम् 'false speech' ; this is an exception to rule 106, by which यत् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते इत्यौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप्त + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)' ; the other form is गोप्यम्. कुष्ट + पच् = कुष्टपच्याः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न व्यथते = अव्यथाः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

**भिद्योद्धौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्धौ, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भिद्येन्द्रज्ञेभ्य क्यव् निपात्यते नदे भिष्यते ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्धौ are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhîdya river.

कञ्च्छ + क्यप् = उद्धौ 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river ; the ष्ठ is changed into ध.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used ; thus भेत्ता and उज्ज्वता.

**पुष्यसिद्धौ नक्त्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धौ, नक्त्रे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुष्ये सिद्धेभाषिकरणे क्यव् निपात्यते नक्त्रे भिष्यते ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्धौ are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप्, when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिद्ध + क्यप् = सिद्धौः 'the asterism Siddhya' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषणं 'nourishing', संधनम् 'accomplichsing'.

**विपूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विपूय-  
विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ विपूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यां मुञ्जकल्कहलित् इत्येते  
स्वयंषु चोऽयम् ॥

117. The words विपूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'muñja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू. +वयप् = विपूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि+नी.+वयप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+वयप् = जित्य 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपात्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

**प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,  
ग्रहेः, छन्दसि, (क्वय) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्वयप् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्वयप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus मन्त्रस्थ न प्रतिगृह्यम्; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिगृह्यम् and अपिगृह्यम्.

**पदास्वैरिकाह्यापत्त्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्वैरि-  
काह्या-पत्त्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्वय) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ पदे अस्वैरिकाह्यायां पद्ये चायें ग्रहेधार्तोः क्वयप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्वयप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. I. II. So also अस्वैरिकाह्याः.

The word अस्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुकाः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्य means 'situated outside'. Thus भासगृह्या सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्य being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पत्त्य is derived from पत्त 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

**विभाषा कृत्योः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कृ-वृषोः, (क्यप्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृमो वृषभं विभाषा क्यप् प्रस्त्वयो भवति ॥

120. After the verbs कृ 'to do', and वृ 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix वृत्ति by 124, and the verb वृ would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus : कृ+क्यप् = कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ+वृत्ति = कार्यम्. So also वृत्यम् or वर्ष्यम् 'stimulating'.

**युग्मं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्मम्, च, पत्रे ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्ममिति निपात्यते पत्रे चेद्ग्रहति ॥

121. The word युग्मम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्मो गौ 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्मो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज्+क्यप् = युग्मम्. The ज is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्मं.

**अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अमाशत्वः सहायेवर्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपै वसेद्ग्रहतीः कालेऽधिकरणे एवत्प्रस्त्वयो भवति तथान्यतरस्यां वृद्ध्यभावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix वृत्ति in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vridddhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावस्या or अमावस्या.

The final त in अमावस्यत् is indicatory and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and *a fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a paribhāshā which declares एकवेशविकृतस्यानन्यतरवम् ; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्यावा ता is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also.

ऋन्दसि निष्ठुर्क्यदेवहूयप्रणीयोन्नीयोचिद्ध्यमर्यस्तयोऽधर्यत्य-  
खन्यदेवयन्यापृच्छप्रतिषीव्यब्रह्मवाद्यभाव्यस्ताव्योपचार्यपृडानि ॥ १२३ ॥  
पदानि ॥ ऋन्दसि, निष्ठुर्क्य-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्चिद्ध्य-मर्य-स्तयोऽधर्य-  
खन्य-खन्य-देवयन्या-आपृच्छ-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचार्य-  
पृडानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठुकर्याद्यः शब्दाश्छ्रुन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥  
वाचिंकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठुर्क्य, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्चिद्ध्य, मर्य, स्तर्या, धर्य, खन्य, खन्य, देवयन्या, भाव्यस्ताव्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचार्यपृड.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठुर्क्य is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix अयत्, instead of क्यप्, which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत्+अयत् = निः+त्वक्+य (the root कृत् transformed into त्वक् by transposition) = निष्ठुर्क्य. As निष्ठुर्क्य चिन्हीत् पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हूय 'to invoke', the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. 1. 71), is not allowed, देव+हूय or हूय+क्यप् = देवहूयः So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप्=प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्यप्=उन्नीयः, उत्+शिष् (to leave)+क्यप्=उच्चिद्ध्यम्; मृ (to die)+यत्=मर्यः; स्त्र (to cover)+यत्=स्तर्या; it is always feminine. अ॒ (to bend)+यत्=धर्यः; खन् (to dig)+यत्=खन्यः; खन्+प्यत्=खन्यः; ई॒ (God)+यज् (to sacrifice)+यत्=ई॒वयज्ञया; always used as feminine. आ॒+पृच्छ (to ask)+क्यप्=भाव्यस्ताव्यः, प्रति॒+सी॒व (to sew)+क्यप्=प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मण॑+वह् (to speak)+अयत्=ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू॑(to be)+अयत्=भाव्यः; स्तु॑(to praise)+प्यत्=स्ताव्यः; उप॑+चि॒ (to collect)+प्यत्+पृड़॑=उपचार्यपृडम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृड follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचेवपृडम्।

ऋहलोप्यत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋह-हलोः, ययत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋहर्णन्ताद्वातोहंजन्ताच्च प्यथस्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix अयत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitiveness here being that of ablative. As कृ॑+प्यत्=कार्यम् 'to be made'; हू॑+अयत्=

हावै nom. sing. हावैम् 'to be taken'; धृ+प्यत् = धावै; 'to be held'; वच्+प्यत् = वक् + प्यत् (VII. 3. 52) = वावै (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच्+प्यत् = पावैम्.

ओरावश्यके ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जोः, आवश्यके (गयत्) ॥  
बृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णन्ताद्वातोर्यत्प्रवययो भवति आवश्यके व्योत्ये ॥

125. The affix प्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter च long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु+प्यत् = लौ+य = लाव्य (VII. 2. 115) and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु+प्यत् = पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्य 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix प्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the प्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्य &c.; we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpurusha* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमष्ट ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-  
-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, ( गयत् ) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ भाड़् पूर्वक सुनोते: यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च प्यत् प्रवययो भवति ॥

126. The affix प्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', यु 'to join', चम् 'to sow', रपि 'to speak distinctly' लपि 'to prate', त्रपि 'to be ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition भाड़् and the root सु. This sūtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु+प्यत् = आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याव्यम्, राव्यम्, ज्ञाव्यम्, ज्ञाव्यम् and आचाम्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इम्+प्यत् = रास्यम् ॥

आनाशयोऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाशः, अनित्ये ॥  
बृत्तिः ॥ आनाशय इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयते राहृ पूर्वाण्यदावावेशी निपात्यते ॥

127. The word भानाद्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—आद् + नी + अत् = आ + नै + य = भानाद्यः, (the य being changed into द्य by the analogy of VI. i. 79).

As भानाद्यो दक्षिणाग्निः. This is a species of Dakshināgny fire. As this fire is *brought* from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called ānāyya. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakshināgny. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same *source* with the Dakshinagni and Ahavaniyāgny. A Dakshināgny fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last *i. e.* from Gārhapatya fire, it is ānāyya Dakshināgny. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called ānāyya ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is भानेय meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाद्येऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाद्यः, असम्मतौ ॥  
दृतिः ॥ प्रणाद्य इति निपात्यते ऽसंमतावभिधेये ॥

128. The word प्रणाद्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word असंमतिः is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus प्रणाद्यश्चोः: 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is प्र + नी 'to lead' + अत् = प्रणेयः 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is असंमतिः which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word संमतिः also means अभिज्ञाप or 'desire' ; and असंमतिः would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word असंमतिः means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

स्वेषाव पुत्राय पिता त्रया प्रश्नूयात्, प्रणाद्याव भन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कर्त्तव्येचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाद्यसांनाद्यनिकाद्यधार्या मानहविर्विवाससामिधेनीषु ॥  
१२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाद्य-सांनाद्य-निकाद्य-धार्याः, मान-हविः-विवास-सामि-  
धेनीषु ॥

दृतिः ॥ पाद्याद्यः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते व्यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां चामि-  
धेवावाम् ॥

129. The words पात्य, सान्नात्य, निकात्य and धात्या are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure) + पूर्वत् = पात्यम्, the म being changed into प and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेत्यम् 'to be measured' (मा + पूर्वत् = मे + य VI. 4. 65 = मेय). सम् + ना (to lead) + पूर्वत् = सान्नात्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेत्यम्। नि + चि (to collect) + पूर्वत् = नि + चै + य = नि + चाय + य = निकात्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचेय। धा (to put) + पूर्वत् = धात्या (fem.). The sāmadheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय।

**क्रतौ कुण्डपात्यसंचात्यै ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रतौ, कुण्डपात्य-  
संचात्यै ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कुण्डपात्य संचात्य इत्येतौ शब्दो निपात्येते क्रतावभिरेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपात्यः and संचात्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड + पा (to drink) + षत् = कुण्ड + पा + य + य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपात्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम् + चि (to collect) + पूर्वत् = संचात्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

**अग्नौ परिचात्योपचात्यसमूहयाः ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ,  
परिचात्य-उपचात्य-समूहयाः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिचात्य उपचात्य समूह इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिरेये ॥

131. The words परिचात्यः, उपचात्यः and समूहः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि + चि + पूर्वत् = परि + चै + य = परि + चाय + य = परिचात्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the ऐ being changed into आ॒ by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचात्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम् + वंह + पूर्वत् = सम् + कृह + य = समूहः 'a kind of fire'. समूहं चिन्हीत पश्यकामः let him kindle the Samūhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise, प्रिचेयम् 'to be heaped', उपचेयम् 'to be increased', संचायम् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दं निपास्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्यः comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire i.e. that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्यः means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *uddita* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चेत्यम् 'to be gathered'.

गवुल-तृचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गवुल-तृचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो ष्वन्त्रहृचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes गवुल्(अक) and हृच्(ह) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + ष्वन्त् = कार + वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + हृच् = कर् + ह (VII. 3. 84) = कर्त् nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of हृच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from हृन् ; the simple हृ includes both हृच् and हृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपचादिभ्यो ल्युखिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-  
ग्रहि-पचादिभ्यः, ल्यु, खिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रिभ्योगणेऽयस्यः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्दाग्रहिभ्यो ल्युः, प्रहादिभ्यो खिनिः, पचादिभ्योऽचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) खिनि (इन) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word *adi* meaning *etcetera*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix खिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दाग्रहि� verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द + ल्यु = नन्द + यु (I. 3. 8) = नन्द + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन् nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following 'causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः; मदि—मदनः; वूषि—दूषणः (or भूषणः); साधि—साधनः; वर्धि—वर्धनः; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः; तपि—तपनः; दमि—दमनः:

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, ईरणः, संक्रन्दनः, संकर्षणः, संहरणः; जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विभाषणः, जवणः (the ण in जवण is irregular), चित्तविनाशनः, कुलदमनः and शत्रुदमनः.

The व्रहादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—यह—यहिन् nom. याही; उत्सह—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही; उद्दस—उद्दासिन्; उद्ग्रास—उद्ग्रासिन्; स्था—स्थायिन्; मन्त्र—मन्त्रिन्; संमर्द—संमर्दिन्. So also the verbs रक्ष, भ्रु, वस्, वर् and शा preceded by नि as, निरक्षिन्, निभ्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन्. The verbs याचि, व्याह, संव्याह, ब्रज, वर् and वस take एिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अव्याचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्याजिन्, अव्यादिन् and अव्यासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशयिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन्, अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन् ।

The following are पचादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वत, चल, तप, पत नद्, भपद्, वस् गरद्, ह्वद्, तरद्, चीरद्, भाहद्, जर, मर, ज्वर, ज्वाम, सूवद्, हेवद्, मोरद्, सेव, मेष, क्रोध, व्रण, वंश, वश, इम्ब, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कीष, ज्वप, मद, रज, दीषद्, चरद् ।

The द् in नद् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. I. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अदिवधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पव्यन्ते च पचादयः ।

अण् वाधनार्थमेवं स्वात् सिद्ध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधज्ञाप्रीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-ज्ञा-प्री-किरः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपथेभ्यो जानतेः प्रीणातेः किरतेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऊ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (अ).

Thus विज्ञिप्+क = विज्ञिप् nom. sing. विज्ञिपः. So also विज्ञिखः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा+क = जः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री+क =

प्रियः 'what pleases' ; कृ+क = कि+अ (VII. I. 100) = किर+अ (I. I. 51) = किरः 'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेष 'ram', should be read in the पचाहि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अव् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गं, (कः) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्ग उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavdda* of III. I. 40, and debars the affix ए. Thus प्रस्था+क = प्रस्थ+अ = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुम्जै+क = सुम्ज+अ = सुम्जः 'very weary' (आ substituted for है by VI. I. 45.) सुम्जै+क = सुम्ज+अ = सुम्जः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ए.

पाध्राधमा धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-ध्रा-धमा-धेट्-दृशः,  
शः, (उपसर्गं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्ग उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिथूते: संज्ञायां प्रतिबेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', ध्रा 'to smell', धमा 'to blow', धेट् 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत्+पा+श = उत्+पिव्+अ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिव् nom. sing. उत्पिवः ; so also विपिवः ; उज्जिध् ; and विजिध् । उत्+धमा+श = उत्+धम्+अ = (VII. 3. 78) ; उत्धमः ; विधमः ; उत्+धेट्+श = उद्धेष्यः ; विधेष्यः ; so also उत्+दृश्+श = उत्पश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārvadhadhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

*Vart:*—Prohibition must be stated of the root ध्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि+आ+ध्रा+क = व्याध् : 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श.

अनुपसर्गालिप्तविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेतिसातिसाहिभ्यश ॥  
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिप्त-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-  
साति-साहिभ्यः, श (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गभ्यो लिप्तादिभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिप्तेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिप्त, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहिः.

Thus लिप्तः: 'smearing'; विन्दः: 'acquiring'; धारयः: 'holding'; पारयः: 'ferrying'; वेद्यः: 'knowing'; उदेजयः: 'shaking'; चेतयः: 'perceiving'; सातयः; and साहयः..

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिपः; here the affix is क.

*Vart* :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिप्ता 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

*Vart* :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्दः: 'Krishna' (protector of cows); अरविन्दः: 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददातिदधात्योर्बिंभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः,  
विभाषा, ( शः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शान्त्रो धात्रश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars य. Thus ददः: 'giving'; or दायः: 'inheritance'; इधः: 'holding' or धायः: 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

उवलितिकसन्तेभ्यो राः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उवल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः,  
राः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवलहीनाविरयेवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा एप्रत्ययो  
भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तनोतेर्ण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उवल 'to shine' and ending with कस 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix श is optionally employed,

The word इति in उच्चिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhūddi* class. See No. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix to *Sidhānta Kaumudi*.

This debars the affix अच्; as उवाजः or उवजः; चाजः or चजः.

The affix ए (अ) having an indicatory ए, causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ए is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रश्वजः: 'luminous'.

*Vart.*—The verb तन् 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ए; as अवतान्. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्यापद्धयधासुसंस्तृतीणवसावहृलिहश्लिष्टवसपच ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आसु-संस्तृ-अतीण-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष्ट-श्वसः; च, (णः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्यैङ्क आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुम्यः व्यध आसु संस्तृ भर्तीए अवसा अवहृ निह श्लिष्ट श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ए is employed after the following verbs also :—श्यै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आसु 'to pain', संस्तृ 'to flow', भर्तीए 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', निह 'to lick', श्लिष्ट 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root श्यै, before affixes, becomes श्या, (VI. I. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ'. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ए. Thus III. I. 136 enjoins क when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः: 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः: 'catarrh', हायः: 'inheritance', धायः: 'having', व्यायः: 'pain', आत्मायः: 'wound', संत्रायः: 'flow', अवश्यायः: 'transgression', अवसायः: 'conclusion', अवहायः: 'taken away', जेहः: 'licking', इलेषः: 'embracing', श्वायः: 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (णः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुनोतेर्नेयतेश्चानुपसर्गे एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ए is employed after the verbs दु 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus शृ+ण = शृ + अ (VII. 2. 115) = शावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी+ण = नी+अ = नायः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रदः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

**विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, ( णः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा प्रहेर्धातोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भवतंश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ण is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus ग्रह+ण = ग्रह+अ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह+अच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhāshā* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ण is *always* used when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह.

*Vart* :—This rule should be extended to the root भु 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

**गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, ( ग्रहः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धातोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह+क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The ण is changed into क्त्र by the rule of *samprasadrana*. The plural form गृहाः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृह meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

**शिलिपनि ष्वन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिलिपनि, ष्वन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वनप्रत्ययो भवति शिलिपनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नृत्यखनिरस्त्रियः परिगतनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वन् (अक) comes after a verb, when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

*Vart* :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृत् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रस्त् 'to dye'.

Thus नृत्+ष्वन् = नर्ते+अक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by prefixes having indicatory व form their feminine gender by the affix छीष्. Thus

the feminine of नर्तक is नर्तकी ; so also खनकः 'miner', fem. खनकी ; रजकः 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रंज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāshya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृत् and खन्. According to him, the verb रस्ता takes the affix कृत्. Thus रस्ता+कृत् = रंज+यु (VI. 4. 37) = रंज+भक् (VII. I. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजिका.

**गस्यकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पनि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते स्थकन् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन् (यक) comes after the verb गै to 'sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गै+यकन् = गायकः (VI. I. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

**एयुट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एयुट् च (गः, शिल्पनि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते पर्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix न्युट् is also employed after the verb गै 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word गा of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गै+पर्युट् = गा+अन् (VII. I. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी ; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गै is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्यकन् and पर्युट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvritti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvritti* of पर्युट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

**हश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः, (पर्युट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जहाते जिहीतेश्च धातोऽर्युट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb हा, also the affix पर्युट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb हा denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा.+पर्युट् = हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions).

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udātta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

**पुस्त् (स्तु)र्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९॥ पदानि ॥ पु-स्त्-(स्तु)-र्वः, समभिहारे, वुन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पु र्व (स्तु) लू इत्येतेऽयो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs पु 'to go', स 'to move', वृ 'to flow' and कृ 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, पु+वुन्=ग्री+भक्त (VII. I. 1)= प्रवक्तः; so also, सरक्त., ऋवक्तः, and जवक्तः.

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

**आशिषि च ॥ १५०॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, ( वुन् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव+वुन् = जीवकः 'may he live' ; नन्दकः 'may he be happy'.

The word आशृषि means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.



ओ३म्

# अथ तत्तीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

—:o:—

कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, ( धातोः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपवे धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीलिकामिभृत्याचरित्यो एः पूर्वेषद्ग्रन्थिस्वरत्यं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईश्विक्षमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भं करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here मूद् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डजावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाभ्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डजावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरजावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाभ्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चापाठः 'the reading of Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as मानं गृहेतुति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवंतं शृणुति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form-nouns out of these.

*Vart*:—The affix अण् comes after the verbs शील, काम्, भद्रय and आचर and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशीलः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीला ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणाचारः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा ।

*Vart:*—The affix ए comes after the roots इक्ष ‘to look’ and क्षम् ‘to forbear’ under similar circumstances. As सुखप्रतीक्षः; fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा ‘expecting happiness’; वहुक्षमः fem. वहुक्षमा ‘much forbearing’.

हावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, मः, च, (अण्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ हे अ, वे अ, माद्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदेऽण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root हे अ् ‘to call’, वे अ् ‘to weave’, माद् ‘to measure’, when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्गं+हे+अण् = स्वर्गं+हा+अ = स्वर्गं+हाय+अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गहायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, ‘when a kṛit affix with an indicatory ए or म follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long आ’). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यमायः।

आतोऽनुपसर्गं कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गं, कः,  
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्; as गां+हा+क = गां+ह+अ = गोऽः ‘Giver of cows’, (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64.)= So also, कम्बलः ‘who gives a blanket’; पाण्डित्यम् ‘what protects the rear’; अङ्गुलित्रम् ‘what protects the finger’ (a thimble).

Why do we say ‘when there is no upasarga’? Witness गोत्संदायः ‘who ceremoniously gives a cow’, वडवरांदाय ‘who ceremoniously gives a mare’. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुषि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठते: कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः=समे तिष्ठति ‘who dwells in accessible position’; and विषमस्थः ‘having an inaccessible position’.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus—  
(1) सृष्टि ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्वाभ्यां पितृति = द्वि + पा + क = ह्रिषः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पात्रपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छुपः 'a tortoise' (that always *protects* its *mouth* by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).  
(2) सृष्टिस्थ ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्था also ends in a long आ ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आख्यनामुरथानम् = आख्यूष्यः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शलभोस्थः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सृष्टि are understood in the sūtras that follow: *viz* : the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सृष्टि everywhere else.

**तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः, परिमृज-अपनुदोः, ( कर्मणि, कः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणीरपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धर्त्त्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आजस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिश्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज 'to wash out' and अपनुद 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज भास्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुदः पुन्नो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

*Vart.*—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

*Vart.*—The epithet तुन्द परिमृजः is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुदः means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोदः means 'removal of sorrow'.

*Vart.*—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुचः 'a bow,' काकगृह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मीदते) 'a lotus'.

**प्रेदाज्ञः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥** प्रे, दा-ज्ञः, ( कर्मणि, कः ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इत्यतेर्जानातेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपस्थात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix क comes after the root श 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण्; as सर्वप्रहः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all; liberal', पथिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of शा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण्; as गोसंख्या.

**समिस्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि समि, स्यः, ( कर्मणि, कः ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण्; as गोसंख्या (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संचाटे).

**गापोष्टक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, ( कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते पिवते श्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे अनुपसर्गे टक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीध्वोः पिवतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गौ 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupasarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क; of this affix इ and क are indicatory the इ showing among others that the feminine is formed by the affix छीप् (IV. 1. 14).

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र+गा+टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. सामगीः 'singer of Sāma', fem. शक्रगी and सामगी।

*Vart.*—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीधु as its object.

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शीधुपः fem. शीधुर्णी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe शीरपा भ्रातृष्टी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇī'; formed by the affix क् and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ह् but by आ.

Why do we say 'when प्र means to drink'? When प्र means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अण्; as शक्तसंगायः, सामसंगायः।

*Vart.*—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as आ भ्रातृष्टी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नैनां देवाः पतिज्ञोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇī to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,  
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धतोरनुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्चप्रकरणं शक्तिलांगजांकुशयटितोमरघटघटीधनुष्य यहेहपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेच धार्यर्थे ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृत् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus भंगं हरति=भंशहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्षहरः 'an heir'. (ह्+अच्=हर+भ=हरः) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अण् will be employed; as भारहरः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

*Vart.*—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गूल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', यटि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिमहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गूलमहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशमहः 'an elephant driver', यटिमहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरमहः 'a club-bearer', घटमहः, घटीमहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुमहः 'a bow-bearer'.

*Vart.*—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रमहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रग्राहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix अच् comes after the verb हन् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb हन् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वयस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as अस्तिहरः आ 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; कवचहरः अनिवकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield' ; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

**आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥११॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, ह-  
रते:, अच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्वरते: कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix अच् comes after the verb हन् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition आङ्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्यं means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as पुष्पाहरः (पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also फलाहरः ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ; as भारमाहरति = भाराहरः 'who brings load'.

**अर्हः ॥ १२॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, ( कर्मणि, अच् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजार्था, अस्माद्वातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix अच् comes after the verb अर्ह 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect' ; so also गन्धार्हा, मालार्हा ।

**स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रमि-  
जपोः, ( सुपि, अच् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्ण इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं रमिजपोर्धत्वोरच्प्रत्ययो  
भवति ॥ वार्तिकम् ॥ हस्तिसूचकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रम् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रम् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances; only namely when the object denotes *Sabda*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛitti of the word सुप् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛitti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

*Vart.*—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्भेरमते=स्तम्भेरनः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति=कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्भे रन्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशक् 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शनि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शनि, धातोः, संज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शन्युपपदे धातुमात्रासंज्ञायां विषये इच्चमत्यवो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम्+कृ+अच्=शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संभवः संवदः । All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛitti from sūtra III. 1. 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ए, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ए, when शम् is an upapada, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ए, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic,' 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेते: ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेते:, (सुषि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्धार्तोरधिकरणे सुबन्नत्रपदे उच्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
 वार्तिंकम् ॥ पाश्वादिष्युसंख्यानम् ॥  
 वार्तिंकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥  
 वार्तिंकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्त्तुषु ॥  
 वार्तिंकम् ॥ गिरौ डच्छन्दसि ॥

15. The affix अच् comes after the verb शी 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word सूप् (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As शोते = खग्यः 'who lies in the sky'.

*Vart.*—The affix अच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the words पाश्वं 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as पाश्वर्वभ्यां शोते = पाश्वश्यः 'who reclines on his sides', उदरश्यः 'who lies on his stomach', पृष्ठश्यः 'who lies on his back'.

*Vart.*—And when the verb शी is preceded by the word दिग्धसह; as दिग्धेन सह शोते = दिग्धसहश्यः ॥

*Vart.*—So also when the words उत्तान &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As उत्तानः शोते = उत्तानश्यः । भवमूर्जा शोते = अवमूर्जाश्यः ।

*Vart.*—In the Chandas the affix अच् comes after the verb शी when in composition with the word गिरि in the locative. As गिरौ शोते = गिरिश्यः 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter ए of अच् is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदान्ति ॥ चरेः, टः, ( अधिकरणे, सुपि ) ॥  
 घृत्तिः ॥ घरेधार्तोरधिकरणे सुबन्नत्रपदे उपर्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix ए comes after the verb चर् 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhibharana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः 'who goes among the Kurus'. मद्रचरः 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix ए the real affix is अ, the letter ए being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix णात्. (See. IV. 1. 14), as कुरुचरी, मद्रचरी ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,  
च, (चरे:, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना भावाच इत्येतेषूपदेषु चर्त्तर्थातोटप्रथयो भवति ॥

17. The affix त is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and भावाच 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; भावाचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोऽग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्त्तः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्त्तः,  
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अवे इत्येतेषूपदेषु सर्त्तर्थातोटप्रथयो भवति ॥

18. The affix त comes after the verb च 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रः and अवे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रः चरः and अपसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वे कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वे, कर्त्तरि, (सर्त्तः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सर्त्तर्थातोटप्रथयो भवति ॥

19. The affix त comes after the verb च 'to go', when पूर्वे is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अप् will be employed. As पूर्वशब्दं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कुजो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुजः, हेतु-ता-  
च्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतेर्थातोटप्रथयो भवति हेतौ ताच्छील्ये आनुलोम्ये च गम्यमाने ।

20. The affix त comes after the verb कुञ् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. आनुज्ञोम्य comes from अनुज्ञोम meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of हेतु, we have शोककरी कन्या 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; यशस्करी विद्या 'honorable science'; कुन्जकरं धनं 'the family' making wealth'. Of ताच्छ्रीन्य, we have आच्छकरः 'who performs obsequies'; अर्धकरः 'who amasses wealth'. Of आनुज्ञोम्य, we have प्रैषकरः 'who promptly does what he is directed'; वचनकरः 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be अण्. As कुभकारः 'potter', नगरकारः 'city-maker'.

दिवाविभानिशाप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिवि-  
बलिभक्तिकर्तृचित्रकेत्र संख्याजड्घाबाह्वहर्यत्तद्दुनुरुषु ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥  
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-  
लिवि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-केत्र-संख्या-जड्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-  
रुषु, ( कर्मणि, सुपि, करोते; टः) ॥

दृच्छिः ॥ दिवादिष्पूपदेषु करोतेर्थतोष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्बहुषु कुञ्जविधानम् ॥

21. The affix त comes after the verb क 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:— दिवा 'by day', विभा 'light', निशा 'night', प्रभा 'splendour', आः 'light', कार 'work', अन्त 'end', अनन्त 'endless', आदि 'beginning', बहु 'many', नान्दी 'benediction', किं 'what', लिपि 'writing', लिवि 'writing', बलि 'oblation', भक्ति 'devotion', कर्तृ 'agent', चित्र 'painting', केत्र 'field', words denoting numerals, जड्घा 'thigh', बाहु 'hand', अहः 'day', यत् 'what', तत् 'that', धनुस् 'bow' and अहस् 'wound'.

Both the words 'karma' and 'sup' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these upapadas stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix त comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last sūtra.

Thus दिवाकरः 'the sun.' The word दिवा is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the *upapada*, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So विभाकरः 'the sun' (light-maker); निशाकरः 'the moon' (the night-maker); प्रभाकरः 'the sun'; भास्करः 'the sun' (the letter स is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the sūtra); कारकरः 'agent'; अन्तकरः 'death' (end-maker); अनन्तकरः 'magnifying to any extent'; आदिकरः 'the creator'; बहुकरः 'the busy'; नान्दीकरः 'the speaker of benediction'; किंकरः 'a servant'; लिपिकरः 'a

scribe'; जिविकरः 'a scribe'; वज्ञिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकाः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जन्माकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; पनुष्करः 'bow-maker'; अहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

*Vart.*—The affix अच् comes after the verb कु when किम्, यत्, तत् and वह् are in composition with it. The speciality of अ affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किंकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and वहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the भजादि class (See IV. I. 31).

कर्मणि भूतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भूतौ, (कर्मणि, करोते:, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवाचिनि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भूतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix अ comes after the verb कु 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भूति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथा वैरचाटु सूत्रमंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥  
न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-मंत्र-पदेषु, (करोते:, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिष्पूपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix अ does not come after the verb कु 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कञ्ज 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix अ being prohibited, the general affix अण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कञ्जकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakritee verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चटुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapātha'.

**स्तम्बशक्तोरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शक्तोः, इन् ( क-  
र्मणि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शक्त् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ त्रीहिवक्षयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कु when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शक्त् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब + कु + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः; so also शक्तकरिः.

*Vart.*—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शक्तकरिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix अण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शक्तकारः 'ordure-maker'.

**हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पश्चौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,  
पश्चौ, ( कर्मणि, इन् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पश्चौ कर्तरि इन् प्रलययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb इ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix अण् is employed; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

**फलेग्रहिरात्मसभरिञ्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मसभरिः,  
च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मसभरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपास्येते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मसभरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहि is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb मह and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृहणाति=फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word भास्मभर्ति: is formed by adding the augment सूम् (म) to the upapada आरम्, and the affix इन् to the verb भृष्. Thus आरमानं विभर्ति = भास्मभर्ति: 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुलिभर्ति: 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उहरभर्ति: 'gluttonous, selfish'.

द्वन्द्वसि वनसनरक्षिमथाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वसि, वन-सन-  
रक्षि-मथाम्, ( कर्मणि, इन् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन संभक्तो, रक्ष पाजने, मथ विज्ञोडने, एतेभ्यः कर्मण्युपयदे द्वन्द्वसि विषये इन्-  
प्रथयो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रक्ष 'to protect' and मथ 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मवनिं द्वा क्षत्रदनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3); उत नो गोषनि (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) ये ते श्रवानौ पविरक्ताः (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रो यात्नामभवत् पाराग्नरो हविर्विदीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजे: खण् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजे:, खण्, ( कर्मणि ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एजू कर्मणे इरयस्मात् प्यव्यतात्कर्मण्युपयदे खण्-प्रथयो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ खण्-प्रथये वातशुनीतिनशुद्धेऽप्यजघेद् तु इतात्तात्तानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खण् comes after the verb एज् 'to tremble' when ending in ए (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix खण् the letters ख् and ण् are indicatory, the real affix is अ. The ख् indicates that the augment सूम् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The ण् indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शृप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अङ्गः-मेजयति = अङ्गः-मेजयः (अङ्गः+एजि+शृप्+खण्=भङ्गम्+एजे+अ+अ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

*Vart:*—The affix खण् comes after the verbs अज् 'to go', धेद् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्द्द 'flatulence'. As वातमजाः सृगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धयः 'a bitch-sucker'; तिलं तुहः 'an oilman'; शर्द्दश्चाहा वाषाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

**नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्मधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,**  
**ध्मा-धेटोः, (कर्मणि, खण्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्मधेटोर्धम्बोः खण् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥  
 वार्तिंकम् ॥ स्तने धेदः ॥ नासिकायांतु धम्ब धेटथ ॥

29. The affix खण् comes after the verbs भा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose', and स्तन 'breast', are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāsankhyā* as given in L 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेदः; as (स्तन + धे + खण् = स्तन + शुभ्र + धृप + खण् = स्तन + म् + धृप + अ + अ) = स्तनध्यः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both भा and धे; as नासिका + भा + खण् = नासिक + म् + धम + अ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकध्यः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकध्यः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāsankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनध्यः is स्तनध्यी, as the verb धे has an indicatory इ.

**नाडीमुष्टघोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टघोः, च, (कर्मणोः,**  
**ध्मा-धेटोः, खण्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि हत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्ध्मधेटोः खण् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs भा and धे, the affix खण् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāsankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a वि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, घटिन्धयः, खारिन्धमः, खारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāsikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेदः ॥ (2) तसो मुट्ठी धम्ब ॥ (3) नासिकायां धम्ब धेटथ ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि घटोखारीज्जिति वन्हव्यम् ॥

**उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः, (खण्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भञ्जे, वह प्रापणे, एताम्यामुत्पूर्णयों कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खण् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह् 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उदि and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुद्रुजति = कूलमुद्रुजः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.) ; कूलमुद्रुहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

**वहाञ्चे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अचे, लिहः ॥ (खण्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ वह अच इत्येतयोः कर्मणोहपपदयोः लिहेऽर्थातोः खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खण् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अभ्र 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अभ्रलिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

**परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मणि, खण्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थादि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचेः खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खण् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थंपचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a prastha of food'; so also द्रोणम्पचः, खस्त्रिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

**मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खण्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मणोहपपदयोः पचेः खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खण् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇī who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇī'; नखम्पचा यवागः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

**विध्वस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अस्तुदः, (कर्मणि, खण्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ विधु अस्तु इत्येतयोः कर्मणोहपपदयोः तुवेऽर्थातोः खण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix खण्ड comes after the verb तुर् 'to strike', when विषु 'the moon' or अहस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विषुन्तुः राहः: 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon'; अहन्तुः: 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मूँ after the word अहस्, see VI. 3. 67.

**असूर्येललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः, दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मणि, खण्ड ॥)**

दृच्छिः ॥ असूर्यजन्माट इत्येतद्योः कर्मणोरपपवयोः दृशितपोर्धात्योः खण्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खण्ड comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and जन्माट are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूर्य+दृश्+खण्ड = असूर्यम्प्रथः; as असूर्यम्प्रथा राजशारा 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also जन्माटन्तपः: 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्यः. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

**उग्रस्पृश्येरस्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रस्पृश्य-इरस्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥**

दृच्छिः ॥ उग्रस्पृश्य इरस्मदपाणिन्धम इत्येते शृण्वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रस्पृश्य, इरस्मद् and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पृश्यति = उग्रस्पृश्यः: 'fierce-looking'; इरया मयति = इरस्मदः: 'delighting in drinking an epithet of Agni, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पस्थानः 'chilly roads'.

**प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥**

दृच्छिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतद्योः कर्मणोरपपवयोर्धात्योः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गमे: सुप्त्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहावसो विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्च डिहा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उ च विहावसो विहावेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb बह् 'to speak' when प्रिय or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus प्रियं बहति=प्रियंवहः 'who speaks kindly'; वशंवहः 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of प्रिय and वश with बह्, the affix खश् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खश्.

*Vart.*—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मितंगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e. an elephant'; मितंगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she-elephant'.

*Vart.*—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

*Vart.*—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory उ. The force of उ is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगमः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

*Vart.*—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix उ (III. 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहग, विहश्च, विहश्चनम्।

द्विषत्-परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,  
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्मणोरपदयोस्तापेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb तप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb तप् belongs both to *Bhū* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhūadi*, the verb तप्ति is the causative ending in णि of तप्; while in *Churādi*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषत्तं तापयति=द्विषत्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परत्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix अप् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः।

**वाचि यस्मी ब्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यनः, ब्रते, (खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्ग्राव्दे कर्मसूपदेये धर्मातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb ब्रत 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word ब्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharmasāstra. Thus वाचंयम आत्मे 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाच्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

**पूः सर्वयोदार्दिसिहेऽः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहेऽः, (खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुर् सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोऽपपदयोर्धासंखयं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भगे च शरेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'to split' and सह 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पुर् 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पुरं दारयति = पुरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

*Vart.*—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि; as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

**सर्वकूलाभकरीषेषु कथः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-अभ-करीषेषु, कथः, (खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल अभ करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपदेषु कषेधातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', अभ 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकथः खजः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकथा नदी 'a river'; अभकथो गिरि 'a mountain'; करीषकथा वात्या 'a strong wind'.

मेघत्तिभयेषु कृजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कृजः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपवेषु कृजः खच् प्रथयो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भवादिप्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघकरः 'producing clouds' ; ऋतिकरः 'giving pain' ; भयकरः 'frightful'.

*Vart.*—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vārtika* under I. I. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयकरः 'who cause s security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेष्ण च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अण्, च,  
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपवेषु करोतेरण् त्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious' ; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kind-ness' ; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ए of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted ; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and not by ई ; as अन्यास्माः क्षेमकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावये: ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करण-  
भावये:, (खच्, सुषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितगच्छे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्ये खच् प्रथयो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb शु 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित् 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुषि' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशिती भवती भनेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

**संज्ञायां भृत्युद्धजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां, भृ-त्-यृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मणि, सुपि, खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ त् यृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेष्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name:—viz. भृ 'to bear', त् 'to cross over', यृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुपि of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वभरा 'earth' (that which supports all); रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma'; पतिवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband); शत्रुञ्जयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy); युग्मधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed'; शत्रुंसहः 'Satrunsa' (withstanding an enemy); शत्रुंतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy); अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name'? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

**गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुपि, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुत्युपपदे संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

**अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्वे-अनन्तेषु, डः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अस्वन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्वे अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपरेषु गमेर्डप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डः प्रकरणे सर्वान्पत्रबोहपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्तरसो ज्ञोपथः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुहुरोरधिकरणे ॥  
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरोदेशे ॥  
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणेऽन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix उ comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अवन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; अवनगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix उ the letter उ is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The उ indicates that the उ portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त+गम्+उ = अन्त+ग+अ (the उ portion गम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory उ, follows, there is elision of the उ of a अ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called अ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of उ as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

*Vart.*—The उ is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere' and पत्र 'creeping'; as सर्वञ्चगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पत्रगः 'snake.'

*Vart.*—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस्+गम्+उ=उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

*Vart.*—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

*Vart.*—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निर्गः 'a country'.

*Vart.*—Others say, that this उ is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्रयगारगः (स्त्री+भगार+गम्+उ) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; प्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुहतल्पगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे उ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दारावाहनोऽणन्तस्य च उ संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कर्मणि समि च ॥

49. The affix द comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix द is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमि वशात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

*Vart.*—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word शार 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ए, when the word so formed denotes a name. As शारु आहन्ति = शार्वाधाटः (शारु + आहन् + अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

*Vart.*—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vārtika*: as चार्वाधाटः or चार्वांधातः।

*Vart.*—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ए; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, (कर्मणि, हनः, द्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वाद्विन्ते : क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोऽपपदयोर्द्वयो भवति ॥

50. The affix द comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son'; शनोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्जिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, जिनिः, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतत्योऽपपदयोः हन्तेर्जिनिः प्रव्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix जिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घात+इन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारघातिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघातिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शोर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस्।

लक्षणे जायापत्योष्टक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्ते जायापत्योः कर्मणोऽपपदयोज्जेक्षणेव तिकर्त्तरि टक्-प्रथयो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणी कर्त्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्त्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघनः: 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघनः: 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघनी 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ट and क् are indicatory. The ट shows that the feminine is formed by ई, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक्=जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98)=जायाघनः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानाद्वन्तेद्वातोः कर्मण्युपपदे टक्-प्रथयो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघनतिलकाज्ञकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघनी पाणिरेखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. इजेनघनं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पिताघनं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe भाषुधातः शूद्रः 'a Sūdra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following? चौरधातो हस्तः 'an elephant' (*i.e.* who kills a thief.) Here the word is formed by the affix भण् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krit* affix.

**शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-(वा)टयोः, ( हनः, टक् ) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानादां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्हेन्ते टक्-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपा॒ 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः=हस्तिधनः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटधनः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिधातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is भण्.

**पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघौ, शिल्पिनि ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ साडघ इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words पाणिघ and साडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and साड 'a blow' as object; then the नि portion of हन् *i.e.* अन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि+हन्+क=पाणि+ह्+अ=पाणिघ: 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); साडघः: 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिधातः 'boxing'; साडधातः 'hammering'.

*Vart:*—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राजघः: 'a regicide'.

**आढघसुभगस्थूलपलितनगनानधप्रियेषु चव्यर्थेष्वचव्यै (कुञः करणे स्थुन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढघ-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नगन-अनध-प्रियेषु, चिव-अ-र्थेषु, अच्वौ, कुञः, करणे, स्थुन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आश्चादिषु कर्मसूपदेषु च्छयं च्छ्वयन्तेषु करोते द्वातोः करणे कारके ख्युनप्रस्थयो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आश्च 'rich', सुभगं 'fortunate', स्थूलं 'big', पल्लित 'grey', नम् 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and प्रियं 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्छ, though not actually ending in the affix च्छ.

The affix च्छ (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be'; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्छ being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold; namely, words ending in च्छ and words not ending in च्छ. Both may have the force of च्छ. In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in च्छ have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्छ, but have the force of च्छ are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आश्च + कृ + ख्युन् = आश्चंकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching'; सुभगंकरणम् 'making happy'; स्थूलंकरणम् 'by which one becomes big'; पल्लितकरणम् 'rendering grey'; नमंकरणम् 'making naked'; अन्धंकरणम् 'making blind'; प्रियंकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्छ'? Otherwise आश्चं तैजेन कृवैन्ति i. e. आश्चजयन्ति 'they anoint with oil'. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्छ and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्छ'? Observe आश्ची कृवैन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected: 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix च्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and च्युट्; both having the efficient portion चु; what is then the use of prohibiting च्छ? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix च्युट् will also be not employed. Thus by implication the affix च्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्छ in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pātanjali observes this prohibition as superfluous; because there is no distinction between व्युद् and ख्युन्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नव्, स्नव्, ईक्, अक् and ख्युन् take ई in the feminine as well as the words तरुन् and तलन्. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुम्. For it being an indeclinable, मुम् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

**कर्त्तरि भुवः खिष्णुच्खुकज्ञौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, भुवः, खिष्णुच्-खुकज्ञौ, (आदधादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आदधादिषु सुवन्तेषुपूपवेषु च्यथेष्वचयन्तेषु भवतेर्हातोः कर्त्तरि कारके खिष्णुच्-खुकज्ञौ इत्यतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिष्णुच् and खुकज्ञ, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words आद्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चित् though not ending in च्चित्.

Thus आदधमविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आदधमावकः 'becoming rich'; सुभग्मविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्युज्जंभविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming big'; पञ्जितमविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नमविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्पमविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming blind'; प्रियमविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of चिक्, otherwise not; as आटी भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in चित्; आटी भविता।

**स्पृशोऽनुदके किन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पृशः, अनुदके, किन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृशेष्वतिरनुदके सुवन्तउपवे किन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix किन् comes after the verb स्पृश् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुषि is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म instead of सुषि, because the verb स्पृश् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सुषि in this case; because the word कर्तरि of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents, whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृश्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृश् + किन् + सु = स्पृश् + दि + o (VI. I. 68) = स्पृक् + o (VI. I. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रेण स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns'; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पृशः; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like किप् &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रत्ययस्थ कृ; and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and किप्, as क्य means क्यष्, क्यप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent (VI. I. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent,

ऋत्विगदधृक्-स्त्रग्-दिगुषिणगंचुयुजिकुञ्चां च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥  
ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्त्रक्-दिक्-उषिणक्-अञ्चु-युजि-कुञ्चाम्, च ॥

दृतिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चशब्दाः किन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे नयो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', स्त्रक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उषिणक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन्; and so also after the verbs अञ्चु 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and कुञ्च 'to approach', the affix किन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋतु + यज् + किन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतम्). This word, however is a रूढि word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृष् + किन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. स्त्र + किन् = स्त्रक्. Here there is augment अम्. दृग् + किन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्त्रिह + किन् = उषिणक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्चु, and कुञ्च. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अञ्चु only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्चु + किन् = प्राञ्च् nom. sing. प्राङ् (VI. 4. 24; VII. I. 70, VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east'; so also प्रत्यह् 'west'; उत्तर् 'north'.

The affix किन् comes after युज्ज् and कुञ्च् when these are uncombined. Thus युज् + किन् = युज्. In nominative singular, युज् + स् = युज्ज् + स् (VII. I. 71) = युज्ज् + ० (VI. I. 68) = युज् (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root युज् is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix किन् (see sutra 61). As अभयुक् 'yoked with horses'.

So also कुञ्च् + किन् = कुञ्च्, nom. sing. कुञ्च्, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the च (VI. 4. 24) of कुञ्च् is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ्च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु,  
दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्च, च, ( किन् ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादीषूपदेषु दृशोर्धातोरनालोचने येऽर्थं वर्त्मानात् कम्प्रस्थयो भवति चकारात्  
किन्चन् ॥

60. And the affix कञ्च comes after the verb इग्, 'to see' when it is in combination with त्यद् &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the किन् also comes under similar circumstances. त्यद् &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. I. 27. Thus त्यादृश् nom. sing. त्यादृक्, 'such-like' when it is formed by किन्; and त्यादृशः 'such-like' when the affix is कञ्च. So also तद् + दृश् + किन् = तादृश् (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. तादृक् (VI. I. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and तादृशः when कञ्च is the affix. So यादृक् or यादृशः 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter च of कञ्च? It is for the sake of accent; the *udātta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicatory च or न् (VI. I. 117). But the indicatory न् would have given the same accent, there being no difference between कञ्च and कन् in this respect. The indicatory च then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix कञ्च from कन् in sūtra IV. I. 15 in which कञ्च is taken and not कन्. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for कञ्चकरप् of that sūtra, we should have read कन् करप् so that the feminine of words formed by कन् would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of यादृकः (याव + कन् V. 4. 29) would have been यावकी instead of यावका.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See तं पश्यति = तदृशः 'who sees that'. The words त्यादृक्, तादृश् &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

*Vart.*—This rule applies also when the words समान and अन्य are in composition with दृश्. 'As सहक् or सहशः: 'like'(समान + इग् + किन् = स + इग् VI. 3. 89); so also अन्यादृशः or अन्यादृक् 'of another kind'.

*Vart.*—The affix क्स comes also after the root दृश्. As सादृशः, यादृशः, अन्वादृशः and कीदृशः। तद्+दृश्+क्स = ता+दृश्+क्स (VI. 3. 91.)=तादृश्+स (VIII. 2. 36) = तादृक्+स (VIII. 2. 41) = तादृक्+प(VIII. 3. 59) = तादृशः।

सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-दुह-युज-विद-भिद-छिद-जि-नी-राजा-म्  
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्षिप् (सुपि) ॥

दृत्तिः ॥ सदाक्षिणी धातु-न्यः सुवन्ते उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि क्षिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्षिप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत् ‘to sit’, सू ‘to bring forth’, द्विष् ‘to hate’, द्रुह् ‘to bear malice’, दुह् ‘to milk’, युज् ‘to join’, ‘to concentrate the mind’, विद् ‘to know’, ‘to become’, ‘to consider’, भिद् ‘to divide’, छिद् ‘to cut’, जि ‘to conquer’, नी ‘to lead’ and राज् ‘to shine’.

The phrase ‘the word ending with a case-affix’ is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of क्षर्म is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 ante. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix i. e. they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñāpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष् shows that अश्विं class verb is meant here, and not सुश्विं class. The verb युज् includes, both युजित् ‘to join’ and युज् ‘to concentrate one’s mind’. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of ‘to know’, ‘to become’ and ‘to consider’, but does not include the verb विद् ‘to gain’, because that root has an indicatory लृ (विद्लृ) while all these verbs have indicatory अ.

Thus, सत्—गुच्छित् ‘dwelling in purity’; अन्तरिक्षसत् ‘dwelling in the skies’, ‘epithets of Brahma’ (Kaṭh. 5. 2); उपसत् ‘serving’. सू—अण्डसू ‘oviparous’; शतसू ‘bringing forth hundred’; प्रसू ‘parent’. द्विष्—मित्रद्विष् ‘treacherous’; प्रद्विष् ‘hostile’. द्रुह्—मित्रद्रुक् ‘treacherous’; प्रद्रुक् ‘hostile’ (VIII. 2. 37). दुह्—गोधुक् ‘cow-milker’; प्रधुक् ‘milker’ (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्—अन्वयुक् ‘carriage’; प्रयुक् ‘impulse’. विद्—वैदवित् ‘knower of Veda’; प्रवित् ‘knower’; ब्रह्मवित् ‘knower of Brahma’. भिद्—काटभित् ‘wood-cutter’; प्रभित् ‘cutter’. छिद्—रजनुच्छिद् ‘rope-cutter’; प्रच्छिद् ‘a cutter’. जि—शत्रुजित् ‘enemy-conqueror’; प्रजित् ‘conqueror’. नी—सेनानीः ‘leader of an army’; प्रणीः ‘a leader’; मामणीः ‘head-borough’; अमणीः ‘first’. (Why is there cerebral ए in these words? Because the word मामणी has a cerebral ए in

sûtra V. 2. 78 and that indicates that these words will have ए, as also by sûtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराज् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter म is added by sûtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sûtra is a continuation and expansion of sûtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

**भजो खिवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, खिवः, (उपसर्गं, अपि, सुपि)॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ भजेर्थातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गं प्रयनुपसर्गं विष्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix विष्व comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sûtra. As अर्द्धभाज् भजते = अर्द्धभाज् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

**द्वन्द्वसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वसि, सहः, (उपसर्गं, सुपि, खिवः) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसि विषये सहेर्थातोः सुबन्त उपपदे विष्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix विष्व comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As तुर्+सह्+विष्व = तुराशाह् nom. sing. तुराशट् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into त् by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of तुर् is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48. 5.

**वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (द्वन्द्वसि, खिवः, सुपि) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ वहेर्थातोऽद्वन्द्वसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे विष्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix विष्व comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रष्ठवाह् 1st sing. प्रष्ठवाद् 'carrying a prashtha measure'; so, वित्यवाद्।

The division of this sûtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sûtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur. Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

**कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु इयुट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, इयुट्, (द्वन्द्वसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु द्वन्द्वसि विषये वहेर्थातोऽयुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix विष्व comes after

the verb वह when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'faeces' and पुरीश्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः पितृष्णाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitrīs*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीश्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई।

हव्येजनतःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,  
(छन्दसि, वहः, उयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यशब्दं उपर्वे छन्दसि विषये वहेधातोऽव्यूप्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वहिर्वर्तते ॥

66. The affix अव्यूप्रत्यय comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अनिश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix वित् (sūtra 64). As हव्यवादग्निरजरः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda. III. 2. 2.)

जनसनखनक्रमगमे विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-  
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्ग) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपर्वे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्ग and सुपि are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicatory, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, by which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अप् + जन् + विट् = अज्ञाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजा: 'born in the heaven i.e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्—गोषा: 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इंद्रो नृषा भसि 'O Indra bestower of cows ! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्—विसखा: 'digger of lotus stalk'; कूपखा: 'digger of well'. From कम्—हधिकाः 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5).. From गम्—अमेगा उच्चेदृष्णाम् 'the leader'.

**अदोऽनन्ते ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ते, (सुषि, विट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अदेर्धातोरनन्ते सुन्युपपदे विट्प्रस्त्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन् 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus आमन्ति = आमात् 'eating raw food'; शस्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन् as an upapada, we have अन्नादः 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1.)

**कृव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृव्ये, च, ( अदः, विट् ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृव्यशब्द उपपदे अदेर्धातोर्विट्प्रस्त्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when the word कृव्य is in composition with it.

As कृव्यमन्ति = कृव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form कृव्यादः which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus कृव्यादः means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i.e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while कृव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word कृव्यात्: in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under पूर्वोदारादि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

**दुहः कृघञ्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-घः, च, ( सुषि ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुन्युपपदे कृप्रस्त्ययो भवति घकारधान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कामदूधा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अर्पदूधा, घर्दूधा।

मंत्रे श्वेतवहोक्यशस्पुरोडाशो रिवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मंत्रे,  
श्वेतवह-उक्यशस्पुरोडाशः, रिवन् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ भेतवह उकथग्रास् परोडाश्च हस्येतेभ्यो षिवन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

भार्तिकम् ॥ भेतवहावीनां इस्पवस्येति वृक्षाद्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix विन् comes after the words वेतव्य, उक्तप्रश्न and पुरोडाश।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix निवन् comes after the verb वह preceded by the upapada खेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As खेता एनं वहन्ति = 'खेतवाह्' nom. sing. खेतवा: 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix विन् is applied to the verb शंस् 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्तु as object or instrument; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्तानि उक्त्यैर्वा शंसति = उक्त्यशास्, nom. sing. उक्त्यशाः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The विन् is applied after the verb दात् 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दात्वान्ति पूर्वं = परोदात्, nom. sing. पुरोडः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

*Vart*:—The augment दृ॑ is added to the words वेतवा॒ह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations वेतवा॒ह् becomes दृ॑वेतवा॒ह्। Therefore its Instrumental dual is दृ॑वेतवो॒भ्याम्, pl. दृ॑वेतवो॒भिः।

The augment उ॒स् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवा॒ही, श्वेतवा॒हः।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (यिवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अबे उपपदे यजेधातोर्णिर्वनुप्रस्थयो भवति मंजे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix विन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अत्.

As अव्याज्, nom. sing. अव्याः (Rig-Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest'; as स्वं यज्ञे वरुणस्याव्या असि 'Thou art the priest of Varuna in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvṛitti* of यज्

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

sing.	dual	plural.
1st. अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd. अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd. अवयाजा,	अवयोऽयां,	अवयोभिः

**विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपे यजेष्ठैऽसि विषये विच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयज्ञभिरुद्धं वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज्ञ formulas'. उपयज्ञ is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvrittis of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brâhmaña literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes किन्, किप्, विय, विट्), as in the sûtra वेरपूत्तम्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sûtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sûtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज्ञ is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

**आतो मनिन्-कनिप्-वनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-  
कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुषि, विच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुप्युपपे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् कनिप् वनिप् इत्येते  
प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद्विजापि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), कनिप्(वन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुशा + मनिन् = सुशामन्, 1st. sing. सुशामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वस्थामन्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthâman'; सुधा + कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुपा + वनिप् = सुपीवन्, 1st. sing. सुपीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + शा + वनिप् = भूरिशवन्, 1st. sing. भूरिशवा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाज + पा + विच् = कीलाजपा: (Rig. X. 51. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंया: (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pâṇini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्योपवा: 'an offering of Râma.' (see sâtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

**अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,  
(मनिन्, कवनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् ववनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रस्थया दृश्यते,  
विचच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, कवनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु+शू 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्मन्, 1st. 'sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i.e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रात्+इ 'to go' + कवनिप् = प्रात्+इत्+वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातिरित्यन्, 1st. sing. प्रातिरित्या 'who goes early'. वि+जन्+वनिप् = वि+जा+वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजात्यन्, 1st. sing. विजात्या 'who brings forth'. अभेरात्या 'who goes before'. रिष्+विच् = रेष् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेष् 'who injures'; as in रेषसि पर्णं नयेः (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As पीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sûtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

**क्रिप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रिप् च ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरपपदेभ्यश्च दृश्यसि भाषायां च क्रिप्पत्ययो भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्रिप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sauskrat.

As उखायात् = उखान्त् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णात् = 'falling from the leaves'; वाहात् भ्रश्यति = वाहान्त्, 1st. sing. वाहान्त् = 'falling from a car'. The हा is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

**स्थः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्थः, क, च, (सुषि, उपसर्ग, क्रिप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था इत्येतस्माद्वातोः सुव्युपपदे क्रमत्ययो भवति क्रिप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्रिप् come after the verb स्था when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्था would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्रिप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sûtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sûtra III. 2. 4, and the present sûtra removes that prohibition. Thus शृणुः and शंस्थाः। But for this sûtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada शम्, the verb स्थाः would have taken the affix अच् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ णिनिस्ताच्छीरये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुषि, अजातौ,  
णिनिः, ताच्छीरये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाच्चिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छीरये गम्यमाने धातोर्णिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्प्रतिवामाङ्गि सत्तेहपसंख्यानम् ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुज् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also श्रीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness आहाणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brâhmaṇas'. We cannot form आहाणानामन्त्रयी

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्ण भुज्ञे कर्त्ताचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvṛitti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुवायित्, अनुज्ञाविन्, उपजीविन् &c.।

*Vart.*—The verb भाव् in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उवासारिन्, fem. उवासारिणी, 1st. plural उवासारिण्यः. So also प्रलयासारिणी, pl. प्रस्त्रासारिण्यः।

*Vart.*—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker'; साधुशारी 'giving liberally'.

*Vart.*—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन्, in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तर्युपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (णिनिः) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त् वाच्चिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्धृत्वं क्रोशति = उद्धृतक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; ध्वंश-राशिन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूर्वानिव भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats māsha like apīpa'. Here अपूर्व is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उद्धृतः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

**ब्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रते, (धातोः, सुषिपि, लिनिः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रते गम्यनाने सुबन्त उपपदे धातोर्णिनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix लिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word ब्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थणिडलग्नाजिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अभाद्रतेजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srāddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थणिडले शोते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2. 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

**बहुलसाभीहरये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलस् आभीहरये, (लिनिः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीहरये गम्यनाने धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix लिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीहरय means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणो गान्धाराः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय + पा + लिनि = कषाय + पा + युक + लिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also चीरपायिण उशीनाराः 'the people of Usināra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-नायिणो चाहनीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुन्नमाषखादः 'a grain eater'.

**मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, खिनिः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यते: सुवृत्तं उपपदे खिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix खिनि comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनंमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खण् there would be difference of form owing to the vikarana, i. e., in the 4th conjugation इयन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

**आत्ममाने खश ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश, च, (खिनिः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानामन्यते: सुप्युपपदे खणप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराणिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खण् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix खिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix; thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्यः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्यः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say 'when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self'? Witness दर्शनीयमानी वेषदत्तस्य यजदत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome-by Devadatta.

Of the affix खण् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66; and ण् makes it a sārvadhātuka affix, which brings in the proper vikaranas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

**भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारो वर्त्तमाने जडिति आवत् यदित ऊर्ध्वमनुकमिष्यामः भूत इत्येवं तद्वैदितव्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an adhikāra or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose anuvṛitti is also understood throughout the subsequent sūtras; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix खिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the sūtra, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्ठोमेनेष्वान् = अग्निष्ठोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnīṣṭoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्ठोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnīṣṭoma'.

**करणे यजः ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यजः, (खिनिः, भूते)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यजतेर्धातोः करणपपवे खिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix खिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The anuvṛitti of खिनि and not of खश् is to be read into this sūtra. As अग्निष्ठोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnīṣṭoma.' Here Agnīṣṭoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

**कर्मणि हनः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, हनः, (खिनिः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि उपपदे हन्तेर्धातोर्हिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix खिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पिदव्यवातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुञ्जवातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन्+खिनि=घन्+खिनि (VII. 3. 54)=घन्+खिनि (VII. 3. 32)=घातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The anuvṛitti of the word कर्मणि of this aphorism extends up to sūtra III. 2. 96.

**ब्रह्मसूखावत्रेषु क्रिप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-सूखा-वत्रेषु, क्रिप्, (कर्मणि, हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्माविषु कर्मसूपवेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्रिपप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्रिप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्मा 'Brâhma', चूत् 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vritra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brâhma'; चूत्हा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sûtra 76 *ante*, the affix किवप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a niyama. *i.e.* the verb हन् takes the affix किवप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हतवान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्राह्मधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The किवप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्राह्माणं हन्ति or हन्ति व्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brâhma'. This sûtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sûtra, and is an example of बहुन्ति use of the affix.

**बहूलं छन्दसि॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहूलम्, छन्दसि, (हनः, किप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदांतरेषि हंतेच्छुलं किवप्स्त्रययो भवति ॥**

88. In the Chhandas, the affix किवप् diversely comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains किवप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive rule contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पितृहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पितृघातः:

**सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुण्येषु कृजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-  
पुण्येषु, कृजः, (किप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादिषु कर्मसूपयदेषु करोतेर्जुतोः किवप्स्त्रययो भवति ॥**

89. The affix किवप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मन्त्र 'hymn' and पूर्ण 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मन्त्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here : namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix ; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures'; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The त् is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

**सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपये सुनोतेऽर्थातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

90. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुनः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. i.e. as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

**अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपये सुनोतेऽर्थातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

91. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire' ; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

**कर्मण्यग्नाख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्यायाम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्विप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपये चिनोते कर्मण्येव कारके क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥**

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upapada and the affix. As श्वेनचित् 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; कक्षुचित् 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word आख्या indicates that these words are rūḍhi words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called श्वेनचित्, and so on.

**कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपूर्वात् कीणाते धर्मातोरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix इनि comes after the compound verb विकृ 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word कर्मणि in the sūtra, though its anuvṛitti might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As सोमविक्रियन्, 'the seller of soma plant'; रसविक्रियन्, 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in धानविक्रियः: 'the seller of paddy'.

**दृशेः क्वनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, क्वनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेऽर्थातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As मेरुदृश्वन्, 1st. sing. मेरुदृश्वा 'who has seen the Meru'. परज्ञोकदृश्वा 'who has seen the hereafter'.

Though the affix क्वनिप् was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

**राजनि युधिकृजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-कृजः,**  
**(कर्मणि, क्वनिप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यते: करोतेश्च क्वनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix क्वनिप् comes after the verbs युध् 'to fight' and कृ 'to make' with a past signification when the word राजन् 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb युध्, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the लिङ् affix latent. As राजयुध्वन्, 1st. sing. राजयुध्वा (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; राजकृत्वन्, 1st. sing. राजकृत्वा (VI. 1. 71.) 'who has made a king'.

**सहे च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सहे, च, (युधि, कृजः, कनिप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सहशब्दे चोपपदे युधिकृजोद्वारा तोः कवनिपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix कवनिप् comes after the verbs युधि and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुधन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

**सप्तस्यां जनेऽः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तस्यां, जनेः, डः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तस्यन्त उपपदे जनेऽःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix डः comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + डः = ज् + अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

**पञ्चस्याभजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चस्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चस्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेऽःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix डः comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; तुखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe हस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अधाज्ञातः 'born of horse'.

**उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेऽः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix डः comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अर्थेषां मानवी प्रजाः ।

**अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, डः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाज्ञाने कर्मण्युपपदे डःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix डः comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition अनु and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुमनुजा 'a girl born after the male child i. e. a girl having an elder brother'; स्त्रयमनुजः 'a boy born after the female child i. e. a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते,  
(जनेः, इः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपर्वेषु कारकेषु जनेऽः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix इ is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = अजः 'unborn'; द्विजीतः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As ग्राहणजो धर्मः; ज्ञानियजं युद्धम्।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix इ comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिजाः or प्रतिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100. 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन् this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नक्तवत् तिष्ठेत्युक्तं स निष्ठासंततकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वाच्चिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes कृ and नक्तव् are निष्ठा (I. I. 26). As कृ+कृ=कृतम् 'made'; कृ+नक्तव्=कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

*Vart.*—The Nishṭha affixes come when *adi-karma* is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes *adi-karma* see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः; प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः।

**सुयजोङ्गवनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्गवनिप् ॥**  
 वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोते यंजते अ ङ्गवनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्गवनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु + ङ्गवनिप् = सुत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = सुत्वन् Ist. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, Ist. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The त् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

**जीर्यतेरहन् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अहन्, (भूते) ॥**  
 वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरहन् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अहन् comes after the verb ज् 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As ज् + अहन् = जर् + अत् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, Ist. sing. जरन्, Ist. dl. जरन्तौ, Ist. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94), the Nish्ठा� affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्यः and जीर्णचान्। ज् + न्क = जिर् + न (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जिर् + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

**छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥**  
 वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोलिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As भहं सूर्यमुयतो इदर्शं 'I saw the sun from both sides'; भहं आवापुयिवी आततान 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words इदर्शं and आततान have the force of nish्ठā. See Yaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sūtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *lun*, *lan* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (*धातुसंबन्ध*) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

*Lit* is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

**लिटः कानज्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानच्, वा; (छन्दसि)॥**  
 वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानजावेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानच्।

As अग्निं चिक्यानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुषुबाणः 'he pressed the *soma* juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कान्च् replaces not only the special जिद् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general जिद् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कान्च् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तूतुजान (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

**कवसुञ्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कवसुः, अ, (छन्दसि, लिटः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि जिटः कसुरावेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix कवसु is optionally the substitute of जिद्.

As जज्ञिवस् 1st. sing. जज्ञिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105; अहं सूर्यैमुभयतो इवर्णे.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of कवसु only runs.

**भाषायां सद्वसश्रुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायास्, सद्-वस-श्रुवः, (लिटः, कवसुः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सद् वस श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा कसुरावेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix कवसु optionally replaces जिद्, after the verbs सद्, वस् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेविवान् कौसः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासदत् 'he served'; उपासीहत् and उपससाद्.

So also अनूषिवान् कौसः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्ववात्सीत्, अन्ववसत् and अनूवास.

So also उपगुश्चावान् कौसः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have उपश्रौषीत्, उपागृहोत् and उपशुआव.

The affix कवसु is employed with the force of लुह् and लङ् also.

**उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानञ्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix कवसु is added: as उप+इ+कवसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+कवसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट् contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+कवसु. Then the root इ is replaced by य by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+य्+इट्+कवसु = उपेयिवस् 1st. sing. उपेयिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (भ) where वस् is changed into उष्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेयुषः; instrumental sing उपेयुषा &c.

This irregular participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीयिवान्, and ईयिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपैत्, Perfect उपेयाय।

The word अनाधान् is thus formed:—To the verb अग् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन्; apply the affix कवु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन्+अग्+कवसु = अनाधस्, 1st. sing. अनाधान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशीत्, Imperfect नाधात् and Perfect नाश।

The word अनूचानः is thus derived:—The affix कान्च् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अन्वकोचत्, Imperfect अन्वकीत्, Perfect अनूचान्।

लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेऽप्यै वर्त्तमानाद्वातोलुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वसतेर्लुङ् रात्रिशेषे जागरणसन्तातौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time ; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did'; अहार्षीत् 'he took'.

*Vart*.—The affix लङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell i. e. pass the night'? That person so asked should answer in the लङ् and not in लङ्. As अमुचावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अमुचावसम्.

*Vart*.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुचावसम्.

अनद्यतने लङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लङ्, (भूते) ॥

यृत्तिः ॥ अविद्यमानाद्यतने भूतेर्यं वर्त्तनानाद्यातोर्जङ्ग्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दर्शनविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As भय हो वा भमुञ्जमहि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लङ्.

*Vart* :—The affix लङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—भरण्य यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Saketa'; भरण्य यवनः माध्यमिकात् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उदगात् आदित्यः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event'? Observe चकार कट. देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker'? Observe जयान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्,  
(भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तदृच्चन उपपदे भूतानव्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ :

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollecion'. This rule sets aside the affix लृट्. As अभिज्ञानासि वेवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वस्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

**न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहितेऽभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिज्ञानासि वेवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

**विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते कोवज्ञे च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-श्वेतप्रयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिज्ञानासि वेवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः; तत्र सत्कूर्

पास्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिवाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रैवत्त भोक्ष्यामहे (or यत् तत्रैवत्तमभुज्ञमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified ; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

**परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनयतने) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानयतनपरोक्षे यं वर्तमानाद्वातोऽनिष्टप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अन्यन्तापन्हवे च लिङ्गवक्तव्यः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत् 'past' and अनयतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, अकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, i. e. when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुत्रोऽहं किल विज्ञाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

*Vart* :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गम् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; इक्षिणापर्यं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं इक्षिणापर्यं प्रविष्टेश.

**हशश्वतोर्लङ्घच ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लङ्घ, च, (भूते, अनयतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानयतनपरोक्षे यं लिटि प्राप्ते हशश्वतोर्लङ्घयोर्जङ्घप्रत्ययो भवति चकारलिट् च ॥

116. And the affix जड़ comes after a verb when the particles ह and शब्दः are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिंगः (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शब्दकरोत् or शब्दचकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासनकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसनकाले,  
(भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लट्, लिंगः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसनकाले पृच्छथमानो भूतानयतनपरोक्षेऽयं वर्त्मानाद्वातोर्ज्ञलिंगौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

117. The affixes जड़ (imperfect) and लिंगः (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसनकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् वैवदत्तः or जगाम वैवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अयजद् वैवदत्तः or इयाज वैवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question'? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम वैवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent'? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् स्मे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, स्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्मृशब्द उपपदे भूतानयतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism This debars लिंगः or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishṭhira sacrificed'; so also नज्जेत स्म पुरार्थोयते । उर्णया स्म परार्थीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, स्मे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानश्यतनेऽयं वर्त्मानाद्वातोः स्मृतपदे लद् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लद् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म विता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father' ; इति सरोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

**ननै पृष्ठप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननै, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रभरूपके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽयं लद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लद् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'anadyatana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लुड् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कठं देवदत्त ?— ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ? O, yes, I did make it'. अवोचस्तत्र किञ्चिद् देवदत्त,— ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything ? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation' ? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

**नन्वोर्धिभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ठ-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नशब्दे तुशब्दे चोपपदे पृष्ठप्रतिवचने विभाषा लद्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लद् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कठं देवदत्त—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षीन् ;—अहं तु करोमि or अहं नवकार्षीन् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat ?—No I did not ;— what of that, I did'.

**पुरि लुड् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुड्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनश्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानश्यतनेऽयं विभाषा लुड्-प्रत्ययो भवति लद् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुड् and लद् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used,

The anuvṛitti of the word *anadyatana* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛitti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छानाः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवात्सुः पुरा छानाः ; Imperfect, अवसन्निह पुरा छानाः ; Perfect, कष्ट्रिह पुरा छानाः ।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe यजति स्म पुरा बुधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishṭhira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरब्धोऽपरिसमाप्तश्च वर्तमानस्तस्मन् वर्तमानेऽयं वर्तमानाद्यातोऽन्तःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; ज्वन्ति नदः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शत्रुशानचावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,  
शत्-शानचौ, अप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शत्रुशानचाविद्ययेतावादेशौ भवतः अप्रथमान्तेन चेत्स्य सामानाधिकरणं भवति ॥  
शार्तिकम् ॥ माड्याक्रोशो ॥

124. The affixes शत् and शानच् are substitutes of लट्, when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पच् + शानच् = पच् + शप् + शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68) = पच् + अ + मुक् + भान (VII. 2. 82) = पचमान । So also पच् + शप् + शत् = पच् + अ + भत् = पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brāhmaṇa' = अस्ति ब्राह्मणः ; so also

विद्यते त्राप्ताणः and विद्यमानो त्राप्ताणः ; जुहूत् and जुहोति ; and अधीयानः and जर्धीते।

*Vart.*—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle माद् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा पचन् and मा पच्चमानः 'may he not cook' ; मा जीवन् यः परावक्षादुःखवस्थोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛitti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāshād*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शब्दशानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शब्दशानचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शब्द and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as हे पचन् or हे पच्चमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षण-हेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शब्द-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्यं वर्त्मानाद्वातोः परस्य लटः शब्दशानचावदेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तत्त्वाख्याने च ॥

126. The affixes शब्द and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana*—as, शयानाः भुज्ञते यवनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. सिष्टन्तोऽनुग्राति गणकाः । Of *hetu* :—as हरि पश्यन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; अधीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause'? Observe पचति 'he cooks' ; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action'? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As यः कम्पते सौऽवश्यः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; यहुश्चुप्ते तत्त्वं 'whatever floats is light' ; यज्ञिर्वाति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

*Vart.*—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, योऽधीयान भास्ते स हेवतः 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

*Vart.*—This participle is also used to state a general truth: as श्रावना वर्धते दूर्वा 'the Dûrvâ grass grows in a recumbent position'; आसीनं वर्धते विसं 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound लक्षणहेतुः of the sûtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (श्रव-शानचौ)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ तौ श्रवशानचौ सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two श्रव and शान् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses. Thus ब्राह्मणत्वं कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वायः, करिष्यमाणः।

The word सत् occurs in sûtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्य-यजोः, शानन् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्यो यजेश धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ह्रिषः शहुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पूङ् 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As पवमानः 'purifier (fire or air)'; यजमानः 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ज्, as श्रव and शानचू? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ज्, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ज्, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ज्, as they are not so taught. How is it then that we have such forms as सोमं पवमानः 'drinking Soma'; and नडमाध्यमानः? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ज्. The term द्वन् in sûtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix द्वन् taught in this Chapter sûtra 135; but it is a *pratyâhâra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyâhâra* formed by taking the व of श्रव in sûtra 124; and न् of द्वन् in 135; and thus it means all the affixes from श्रव in 134 down to द्वन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चाँग् &c. are not substitutes of ज्, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term द्वन्.

*Vart.*—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb ह्रिष takes the affix श्रव. As चोरस्य or चोरं ह्रिषन् 'hating the thief'.

**ताच्छ्रीत्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छ्रीत्य-  
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छ्रीत्यादिषु धातोशानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छ्रीत्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुज्ञानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शर्वं निज्ञानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्तीह मुष्टयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्यटयमानाः, गिर्खण्डं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

**इड्धार्योः शत्रुच्छिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इड्-धार्योः, शत्,  
अकृच्छिणि ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इडो धारेश्च धात्वोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छिणि कर्त्तरि ॥

130. The affix शत् comes after the verbs इड् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छिणि means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अर्धीयन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारयन् पनिषदम् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धु and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwise कृच्छिणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छिण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

**द्विषोऽभित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अभित्रे, (शत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभित्रे कर्त्तरि द्विषेद्यतोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शत् comes after the verb द्विष् when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अभित्रि means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्ते 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेषि भार्या पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

**सुज्ञो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तोऽभिषवे वत्तमानात्सुनोतेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शत् comes after the verb शु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word यज्ञसंयोग is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As सु+तु+शब् (III. I. 76, III. 4. 113)=सुतु+अत् (I. 2. 4.)=सुन्वत् (VI. I. 77), 1st. sing. सुन्वत्, 1st. pl. सुन्वन्तः 'the sacrificers'; as in सर्वे सुन्वन्तः 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word संयोग indicates that the principal sacrificer. i. e. the यजमान is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as याजकाः 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have सुनोति सुराम् 'he distils liquor'.

अहः प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहः, प्रशंसायाम्, (शत)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अहेतद्वृत्तिः प्रशंसायां शूलप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix शब् comes after the verb अहः in expressing praise.

As अहेत्तिह भवान्विद्याम् 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; अहेत्तिह भवान्पूजाम् 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness अहेति चौरो वधम् 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्षेत्तच्छीलतद्वृत्तसतत्‌साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्षे:,  
तच्छील-तद्वृत्त-तत्‌साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्षिप्तंशब्दाद्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as क्षिप् in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of आ in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes क्षिप् also. The term तच्छील means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term तद्वृत्त means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term तत्साधुकारि means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तन् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन्, (तच्छील-तद्वृत्त-तत्‌साधुकारिषु) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्तन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तव्ये ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ तन्विधावृत्तिक्षु चानुपसर्गस्य ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ नयते: पुक् च ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्वप्तेऽवतायामकारचोपधाया अनिद्वच्य ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ क्षेत्रेभ्य नियुक्ते ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि द्रव्य ॥

135. The affix शून् comes after all verbs in the sense of 'agents having such a habit &c'.

The न् of शून् is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As कृ+हन्=कर्ता॑, 1st sing. कर्ता॑. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्ता॑ कवान् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मुण्डितायना भवन्ति वधूमूदाम् 'the family of Sravishtayana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमप-हस्तारं आहरका॒ भवन्ति आद्ये॑ सिद्धे॑ 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Sraddha is accomplished'; उत्तेतारस्तोल्लजायना॒ भवन्ति पुत्रे॑ जाते॑ 'the Taulvalayanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill* :—as, कर्ता॑ कर्म् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्ताराखेदम् 'skilful hunter'.

*Vart* :—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix हन्, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हु+हन्=होह॑, 1st. sing. होता॑ 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also पोह॑ 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गात् 'the Udgātri priest'; प्रतिहर्त् 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is हन्. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; i.e. हन् places udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while हन् places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

*Vart* :—The augment षुक् is added when नी takes the affix हन्; as नी + षुक्+हन्=नेष्ट॑, 1st. sing. नेटा॑ 'the Neshtri priest'.

*Vart* :—When signifying diety, the verb त्वष्ट् takes हन्; the letter अ is the substitute for the इ of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate इट् augment; as, त्वष्ट्+हन्=त्वष्ट॑, 1st. sing. त्वष्टा॑ 'Tvashtri'.

*Vart* :—The root ज्ञव॑ takes हन्, when the word to be formed means an officer; as ज्ञव॑ 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

*Vart* :—In the Veda, the root ज्ञव॑ takes हन्, as ज्ञव॑. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकृनिराकृप्रजनोत्पचोत्पतेन्मदस्त्वच्यपत्रपवृत्तुवृथुसंहचरः  
इष्णुच् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलंकृनिराकृप्रजन-उत्पच-उत्पत-उन्मद-  
रुचि-अपत्रप-वृत्त-वृथु-सह-चरः, इष्णुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृत्वा॑ विद्यो धातु॑भ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्चप्रत्ययो॑ भवति ॥

वार्त्तकम् ॥ अलंकृत्वा॑ मण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिवेधेनेष्टुडवन्तव्यः ॥

136. The affix इष्णुच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born', उत्पच् 'to be ripe', उत्पत 'to fly', उन्मद 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपत्रप 'to be ashamed', वृत्त 'to be'; वृथु 'to grow', सह 'to bear' and चर 'to walk'.

As अलंकरिष्णुः: 'decorating', निराकरिष्णुः: 'repudiating', प्रजनिष्णुः: 'procreative', उत्पचिष्णुः: 'apt to ripen', उत्पतिष्णुः: 'flying', उन्मदिष्णुः: 'mad', रौचिष्णुः: 'bright', अपत्रविष्णुः: 'bashful', वर्त्तिष्णुः: 'revolving', वर्द्धिष्णुः: 'growing', सहिष्णुः: 'patient', चरिष्णुः: 'moveable'.

*Vart:*—The affix इष्णुच् debares by anticipation the affix युच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अलंक्, though it has the sense of 'decorating'.

गेष्ठं दसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गे:, छं दसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ष्ट्यन्ताद्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तव्ये इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As इष्ठं भारदिष्णवः: 'who hold the stones'; वीरुषः पारथिष्णवः: ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छं दसि, तच्छीलादिषु,  
इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः: 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras; as, भ्राजिष्णुना ज्ञोहितचन्दनेन ।

ग्लाजिस्यश्च कस्तुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्ला-जि-स्थः, च, कस्तुः,  
(तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्ना जि द्या इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु कस्तुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ दंशोश्छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix कस्तु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्ना 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लास्तुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थास्तुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvṛitti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of स्था, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been कित् (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (क्षिति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of sandhi into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause guna.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अयुक्तः किति), the augment इट् does not come after the verb स्तु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्टु we have no intermediate augment इट्.

*Vart.*—In the Chandas this affix comes after the verb इंग् 'to bite' ; as इन्द्रणवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसिगृधिधृषिक्षिपेः कृनुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृषि-क्षिपेः,  
कृनुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादियो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix कु comes after the verbs चस् 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, चत्नुः 'trembling'; गृध्नुः 'greedy'; धृष्णुः 'bold' ; and क्षिप्नुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो धिनुण् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,  
धिनुण्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादियो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु धिनुणप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix धिनुण् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with मद् in the list of verbs. Of the affix धिनुण् the real affix is इन्, the other letters are servile; the च is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals ; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ण् causes vridddhi (VII. 2. 116) : which in the case of roots ending in म् is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vridddhi' being मद्।

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise लभी 'desiring'; इमी 'taming'; अमी 'laborious'; भ्रमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; कृमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; प्रमादी 'mad' and उप्रमादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उप्रमद् takes the affix इष्टाच्, it also takes the affix धिनुण् by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिता.

संपूर्णानुरुद्धाराङ्गमाङ्ग्यसपरिस्तुसंस्तजपरिदेविसंज्ञवरपरिक्षिपपरिरट  
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहुदुषद्विषद्वुहुयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरजभजातिचरापच्चरा-  
मुषाभ्याहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपूर्ण-अनुरुद्ध-आङ्ग्यम-आङ्ग्यस-परिस्तु-  
संस्तज-परिदेवि-संज्ञवर-परिक्षिप-परिट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-द्वुह-  
दुह-युज-आक्रीड - विविच - त्यज - रज - भज - अतिचर - अपचर - आमुष - अभ्याहनः,  
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, घिनुण)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पुचादिभ्यो धातभ्यो धिनणप्रलयब्यो भवति ॥

142. The affix विनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— सम्पूर्च्, अनुरुध्, आयत्, भायत्, परिक्ष, संहज्, परिरेव, संज्ञवर, परिक्षिप्, परिरद्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, तुष्, द्रिष्, दुह्, दुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, स्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमष् and अभ्याहन्.

The root संच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhādi class, and not as belonging to Adādi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिवै च belongs to Bhvādi class, the simple verb being वै च 'to sport'. The verb लिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudādi and Divādi, and both are taken here. चुञ् 'to concentrate' is Divādi, and चुञ् 'to join' is Rudhādi; both are meant here. The verb रञ् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृष्ठ+विनुष्ट = संपर्क+इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन् Ist. sing. सम्पर्की 'mixture'; similarly, अनुरोधी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयासी 'one who exerts'; परिसारो 'that which flows round'; संसर्गी 'united'; परिवेषी 'lamenting'; संज्वारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपी 'moving about'; परिराती 'crying aloud'; परिवाही 'reviling'; परिवाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्रोषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; भाकीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; स्वागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; भानोषी 'a thief'; अभ्याघाती 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicator  $\overline{q}$  of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वौ कषलसक्त्यस्तम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, कष-लस-कत्य-  
स्तम्भः (चिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

पृष्ठिः ॥ कष लस करथ क्षम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विशब्दवप्यवे चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs कष् 'to injure', जस् 'to embrace and sport', कस्य 'to praise' and छाम् 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि.

As विकारी 'injuring'; विजासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकस्ती 'vaunting'; and विजम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्वातोरपदपपै चकाराद्वौ च चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and च.

As अपज्ञाषी 'thirsty'; विजाषी. The term वि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

ग्रे लपस्त्वद्वायवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रे, लप-स्त्व-द्वा-यव-वद-वसः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्र उपपै लपादिभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs लप्, त्व, द्वा, यव, वद् and वस when compounded with the preposition वि.

As प्रज्ञाषी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रद्राषी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमाषी 'tormenting'; प्रवाषी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvādi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्द्वहिंसक्षिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिव्याभाषासूयो  
बुज् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द्-हिंस-क्षिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-  
वादि-व्याभाष-असूयः, बुज्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तव्य बुज्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix बुज् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—  
निन्द्, हिन्स्, क्षिश्, खाद्, विनाश्, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, व्याभाष् and असूय।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द्+बुज् = निन्दकः (VII. I. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्षेषकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षेपकः 'surrounding'; परिरटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवादकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix वृक्ष taught in III. I. 133, as by adding बुज्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāsha:—

"The rule of III. I. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वृक्ष &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

• देविकुशोश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-कुशोः, च, उपसर्गे,  
(युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इव यते: कुशोश्चोपसर्गे उपसर्गे युच्यन्तयो भवति ॥

147. The affix युच् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and कुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आवेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आकोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिवेवकः 'one who laments'; परिकोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an *upasarga*'? Observe इविता and क्रोडा formed by द्वन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थोदकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,  
अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्याकर्मकाद्यो धातु-यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युच्यन्तयो भवति।

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चन् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); ओपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रथणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पवित्रा विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हला-  
देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेयो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudāttet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudāttet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एषिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes द्वन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; मीमांसनः 'an investigator'. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एष् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वसन् ।

जुचङ्कस्यदन्द्रस्यसृगृधिजवलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥  
जु-चड्कस्य-दन्द्रस्य-सृ-गृधि-जवल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच् तच्छीलादिव)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्वनु ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—जु, चक्स्य, दन्द्रस्य, सृ, गृधि, जवल, शुच, लष, पत and पद.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhātupātha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु+युच्=जो+अन (VII. 1. 1, and VII. 3. 84)=जवनः (VI. I. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चंकस्य+युच्=चंकम्+अन् (II. 4. 74)=चंकमनः 'moving about'; so also इन्द्रमणः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्हनः 'greedy'; जवलनः 'burning'; शोचनः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतनः 'falling'; पदनः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद is a चलनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i. e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix इन्द्रयुच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to अनंकम्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of दन् to भलंकम् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of युक् to the same. If a *tāchchhilika apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhilika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition of दक्ष to पद् by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpaka*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpaka* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विकर्त्तव्यनः।

क्रुधसरणार्थस्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-सरण-अर्थस्यः, च, (युच्)।  
वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध कोषे, मण्ड भूतायाम्, हस्येत्तर्यैयश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament'. But not so after the verb अनंक् to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्वातोयुच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter य.

This debars III. 2. 149. As क्रूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्षमादिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix दन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

**सूददीपदीक्षश्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न)॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ सूदर्वापदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्षा 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anuddātta*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take हन्. As, सूदित् 1st. sing. सूदिता 'one who strikes'; दीपित् 'one who shines'; दीक्षित् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र् after दीप्; this apavāda rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. I. 94), we reply that the Paribhāshā given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned Paribhāshā is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कन्त्रा युवतिः and कमना युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र् and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कन्त्रा and कमना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (yogavibhāga), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the नन्दादि class (III. I. 134) taking the affix न्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ल्पुद्.

**लषपतपदस्थाभृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उक्तज् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-**  
**पत-पद-स्था-भृष-हन-कम-गम-शृभ्यः, उक्तज्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जपादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तव्यु उक्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उक्तज् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—जप, पत्, पद्, स्था, भृष्, हन्, कम्, गम् and शृ.

As अपनाषुक् वृथलसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपादुकसंवर्तं, उपस्थायुका एनं पश्वो भवन्ति, प्रभावुकमत्रं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आधातुकं कापालिकस्य शूलम्, कामुक एनं लियो भवन्ति, आगामुकं वाराण्यासो रक्तं आहुः, किंगारुकं तीहणाहुः। The य is added after स्था in उपस्थायुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into चात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

**जलपभिक्षकुहलुण्टवृडः पाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जलप-भिक्ष-**  
**कुह-लुण्ट-वृडः, पाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जपादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्त्तव्यु पाकनप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix पाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्, भिक्ष, कुह, लुण्ट and वृ।

The ए is indicatory showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix लीष् i.e. long ई (IV. I. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; भिज्ञाकः 'a beggar'; कुद्राकः 'who or what cuts'; लूङ्टाकः 'a thief or robber'; वराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

**प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतेस्तच्छीलाविषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रस्ययो भवति ॥**

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb पञ् 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजविन्, 1st. sing. प्रजवी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजविनौ &c.

**जिदूक्षिविश्रीणवमाव्यथाभ्यमपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥  
जि-दू-क्षि-विश्री-इण्-वम्-अव्यथ-अभ्यम्-परिभू-प्रसू-भ्यः; च,(इनिः, तच्छी०) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृत्ययो धातुयय इनिःप्रस्ययो भवति तच्छीलाविषु कर्तृषु ॥**

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', इ 'to respect', ज्ञि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्री 'to shelter', इ 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यथ 'not to give pain', अभ्यम् 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As : जयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; similarly, इरी 'respecting'; ज्ञयी 'wasting'; विश्री 'wasting'; अव्यथी 'exceeding'; वमी 'vomiting'; अव्यथी 'free from pain'; अभ्यमी 'not injuring'; परिभवी 'humiliating' and प्रसवी 'procreating'.

**सपृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥  
सपृहि-गृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सपृहिगृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलाविषु कर्तृषु भालुच्प्रस्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुच्चीडो महाणं कर्तव्यम् ॥**

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:—  
स्वह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', इय 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तन् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the न् into न. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्र् to the verb उधार् 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churādi class and take एच्.

As, स्वहयानुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृहयानुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पतयानुः 'tending or prone to fall'; इयानुः 'compassionate'; निद्रानुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रानुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धानुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding भया।

*Vart* :—The affix आनुच् comes also after the root शीढ् 'to lie down'; as शायानुः 'disposed to lie down'.

दाधेट्-सिशद्सदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेट्-सि-शद्-सदः, रुः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेट् सि शद् सद् इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेट् 'to suck', सि 'to bind', शद् 'to fall' and सद् 'to sit'.

As, वाहः 'a munificent man'; धार्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As संरुः 'binding'; शद्रुः 'falling'; and सद्रुः 'resting'.

सूधस्पदः क्लरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सू-धसि-अदः, क्लरच् (तच्छ्ली०) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ सू धसि अद् इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्छ्लीजाविषु कर्तृषु क्लरच्-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्लरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', comes after the verbs सू 'to flow', धसि 'to eat' and अद् 'to eat'.

As स्मरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; अह्मरः 'voracious'.

भञ्ज्ञभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज्ञ-भास-मिदः, घुरच्,  
(तच्छ्लीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज्ञ भास मिद् इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्-प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छ्लीजाविषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज् 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and मिद् 'to be fat'.

As भञ्ज्+घुरच्=भंग्+उर (VII. 3. 52)=भंगुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory उ. So also मेहुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं डयोतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज् this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिछिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-छिदेः,  
कुरच्, (तच्छ्लीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदिभिदेः धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्लीजाविषु कर्तृषु कुरच्-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ व्यधेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच्च वक्तव्यः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुरं काटम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs भिद् and छिद्.

*Vart* :—The affix कुरच् comes after the verb व्यभ 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधृतः।

इण्ननश्चजिसर्तिभ्यः करप् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इण्न-नश्च-जि-  
सर्तिभ्यः, करप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण्न-नश्च जि सर्ति इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभूतच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु करप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix करप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नश् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and च 'to flow'.

The ष is indicator to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. I. 71). Thus इ+करप्=इ+त्+वर्=इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नश्वरः, fem. नश्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious'; सत्वरः, fem. सत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वन् *pratyāhāra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इ८ (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरञ्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निराश्यते, गमेरनुनसिकलोपः करप्प्रत्ययच्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the म् of गम् and adding the affix करप्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागुरुकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागत्तेरुकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जाग् 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागरुकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यडः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यडः (त-  
च्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादीनां यडन्तानामूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and दश् when they end in the affix यडः.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; ऊंजपूकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly'; दशशूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

नमिकमिपस्म्यजसकमहिंसदीपोरः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमि-कमिप-  
स्मि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्यादिभ्यो धातु-प्रस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम् 'to bow', कम् 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम् 'to desire', हिन्स् 'to injure', and शिष् 'to shine'.

Thus, नमं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजसं ज्ञहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कमा शुभती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिन्सः रक्षः 'the injuring Râkshas'; शिष् काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस् is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ + जस् + र = अजस् ।

**सनाशंसभिक्ष उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिक्षः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सनन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसेभिक्षेभ्य तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस् 'to wish' and भिक्ष् 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन्, because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिक्षुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस् with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb श्रसि 'to praise'.

**विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छील) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विन्देनुमागम इष्टेश्छत्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदनशीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष्ट् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = एषणशीलः 'desirous'.

**क्याच्छ्लन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छ्लन्दसि, (तच्छील) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्वातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यन्त्, क्यङ् and क्यष् (see sûtras III. I. 8, 11, 13, &c). As मिन्नयुः, संस्वेदयुः, सुम्भयुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit तृन् will be employed. As विक्रीयिता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when क्वच् follows; as पुन + क्वच् = पुनी+य=पुनीय. Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ!

आदूगमहनजनः किकिनौ लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदू-ऋ-  
गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनौ, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य क्वचर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्चन्दसि विषये सच्छीलादिषु  
कर्तृषु किकिनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिट् वच्च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ किकिनावृत्सर्गश्चन्दसि सदादिभ्यो वर्णनात् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ भाषादां धात्र्क्वभृजनिगमिनमित्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सहित्विचलिपिभ्यो यडन्तेभ्यः किकिनौ वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन्, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like निः causing reduplication of the root.

The इ after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been त्, then by the rule of तपर (I. I. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ऋ. But the present rule is applicable to long ऋ as well.

Thus पा+कि = पमिः 'drinking'; as पमिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; इहिर्गीः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ ततुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). कूरे अध्वाजगुरुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम्+किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मिशुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन्+किन् = जथर्निः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जथनिवृत्तम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन्+किन् = जज्ञिः as जज्ञबीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20. 1).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicatory. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like निः will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when it follows, guna is the substitute of the verb क्वच् and of those that end in the long ऋ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused guna. It is to prevent this guna of the letter ऋ that we have annexed an indicatory क् to these affixes.

*Vart-*—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सद् &c.; as सेदिः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

*Vart-*—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धात्र्, कृत्, स्त्, जनि,

गमि, and नग्मि in the secular literature also; as, इधिः, चक्रिः, सक्रिः, जज्ञिः, जग्मिः, नेसिः।

*Vart*:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (अडन्त) roots of सह्, वह्, चल्, and यत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचज्ञिः, आयतिः (VII. 4. 83).

**स्वपितृष्ठोर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृष्ठोः, नजिङ्,  
(तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्त्वंश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्यु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धृष्टेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष्ठ 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप्+नजिङ्=स्वप्न् Ist. sing. स्वप्नक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्टन् Ist. sing. तृष्टक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

*Vart*:—So also after the verb धृष्ट 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्टन् Ist. sing. धृष्टक् 'bold, impudent'.

**शृ-वन्द्योरारुः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसायाम् वन्दि भभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृव्यारुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्दि 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शृराहः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

**भियः कुकुकनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, कु-कुकुकनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भिमी भये असाद्वातोस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्यु कुकुकनौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कु कल्पि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes कु and कुकुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भी 'to fear'.

'As, भीरः: 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः: 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

*Vart*:—The affix कुकुकन् should also be stated; as भीरुकः।

**स्थेशभासपिसकसे वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-  
पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्द्यु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्था 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस् 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; पैस्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकस्वरः 'opening, expanding'.

**यश्च यडः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यडः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्राप्ते भस्माद्यहन्ताच्छ्रौजाविषु कर्तृषु वरच्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यह्.

With the affix यह्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as आवावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

**आजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्रिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥**  
आज-भास-धुर्विद्युत-उर्जिपृजु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्रिप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राजाविष्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रौजाविषु कर्तृषु क्रिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्रिप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs आज् 'to shine', भास् 'to shine', धुर्विद्युत् 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', उर्जि 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word मात्रन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभ्राज् 1st. sing. विभ्राद् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भा: 'light'; धुर्विद्युत् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st sing. धुः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; उर्जि 1st. sing. उर्जक् 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. पूः 'what fills'; जुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; ग्रावस्तुत् (VI 1. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्रिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाऽसरूपविधि does not apply in *tāchchhilika* affixes.

**अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,**  
**(तच्छीलादिषु, क्रिप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छ्रौजाविषु क्रिप्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्रिव्विविप्रच्छयायतस्तु कटपृजुश्रीणां हीर्वाऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिगमिनजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेर्वार्द्धं च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इभय इश्यस्य इस्वश द्वे च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इयायते: संप्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्रिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As द्युज्, 1st. sing. द्युक् 'joining'; छित् 'piercing'; भित् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्रिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

*Vart*:—When किप् follows, the long vowel is the substitute of वृच् 'to speak', प्रच्छ् 'to ask', आयतस्तु 'to praise long', कटप् 'to move through a mat', जृ 'to move rapidly', and श्री 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. I. 16).

As, वाक् 'the voice'; प्रच्छ् + किप् = प्रश् + किप् (VI. I. 10) = प्रष् + किप् (VIII. 2. 36) = प्राद् (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; आयतस्तु 'who praises long'; कटप् 'a worm'; जृ 'swift'; श्री: 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word जृ which was mentioned in the last sūtra is redundant here.

*Vart*:—There is reduplication of the verbs शुत् 'to shine', गत् 'to go' and हु 'to invoke', when किप् follows. As, विश्वृत् 'shining'; जगत् 'going, the world'.

*Vart*:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of जृहः as जृहः 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire'.

*Vart*:—The root हु 'to tear' is shortened also; as दृहु 'tearing'.

*Vart*:—The verb ध्या 'to think' has samprasāraṇa; as धीः 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७६॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (किप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने किप्प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

179. The affix किप् comes after the verb भु 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, विभुः 'a person called Vibhū'; प्रतिभुः 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो इवसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, हु,  
असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वाद्वतेर्धातोः इप्रस्थयो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ डुप्रकरणे मितद्रवादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix हु comes after the verb भु when it is preceded by the upasargas वि, प्र and सम् provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As विभुः 'all pervading'; प्रभुः 'lord'; समुः 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe विभुः 'a person called Vibhū'.

*Vart*:—The words मितद्रु &c, also are formed by this affix. As मितद्रु 'the sea'; शंभुः 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied हु and not किप् to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhātus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of तुक् augment. Thus the 1st. dual of मितद्रु is मितद्रू, 1st. pl. is मितद्रवः। Here there is no substitution of उक्तङ् which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if हु had retained its *dhātu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. I. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितद्रवा &c, (2.) We have no त् which rule VI. 1. 71 required. नित्यं द्रवति=मितद्रुः।

धः कर्मणि षट् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, षट् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्वधाते ध कर्मणि कारके षट्-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix षट् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory ध denotes that the feminine is formed by छीण् (ई) affix. As धारी 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दाप्नोशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदा-  
नि॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे,(षट्)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस यु युज स्तु तुद सि सिच मिह पत दश नह एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे  
कारके षट्-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix षट्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs दाप 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urine', पत् 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दाप्, 1st. sing. neuter दाप्नम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नी नी नी नी 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योनं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; योक्त्रम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a penegyric'; तोनं 'a goad', सेनं 'a ligament'; सेक्तं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेद्धूम् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; षट्-द्रूः 'a large tooth'.

The word षट्-द्रूः belongs to the *Ajāddi* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप्(आ) and not in ई (IV. 1: 4).

The root दंश् is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i.e.* as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युह्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'

And lastly नह् + षट् = नह्न् fem. नह्नी (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः,(षट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ् पूङ् पवने, अस्माद्वातोः करणे कारके षट्-प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणे हनसू-  
करयोरवययो भवति ॥

183. The affix षट् is employed after the verb पूँ with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पूँ includes both पूङ् and पूङ्; as पोनम् 'a plough-share'; पोनने 'the snout of a hog'.

अर्तिलूधसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्ति-लू-धू-सू-  
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्ति लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs क्त 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अर्तिं 'a rudder'; लूविनं 'a sickle'; धविनं 'a fan'; सविनं 'cause of production'; खनिनं 'a spade'; सहिनं 'patience'; चस्त्रं 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पविनं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.'

कर्तरि चर्षिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः,  
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्यथासंख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a deity.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devata* the force is that of an agent. As, पविनोऽयमृषिः 'this sage is sacred'(through whose instrumentality one is sanctified) भग्निः पविनं स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पविनं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

शीतः क्तः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-इतः, क्तः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीतो धतोर्वैतमानेऽयं क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative शि, take the affix क्त, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishtha* affix क्त्, as a general rule, is a past participle affix and denotes past time; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicatory चि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as चिमिदा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मिनः (मिद् + क्त् = मिद् + त् = मिन् + न्) (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So चिदिवदा—हिवणः 'sounding inarticulately'; चिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvṛitti of वर्तनाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थभ्यः,  
च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतम्येभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रस्थयो  
भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त् is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राजा॑ मतः,—इटः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word क्त् is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीजितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आकृष्टः 'censured'; जुष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिष्याहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; क्रान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उथृतः 'ready'; कष्टः 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृतः 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आश्रितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

## अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

—०:—

उत्तरादयो वहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उत्तरा-आदयः, वहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तरादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमाने येऽसंज्ञायां विषये वहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Up' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛitti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Undi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Undi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाज्जिमिद्विसाद्यगृष्य उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', मि 'to scatter', स्वह 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध् 'to accomplish', and अग् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वाहुः 'sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and अगुः 'quickly'.

These *Undi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word वहुल has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unâdi* affixes. Thus though the affixes उन्नत् is ordained after दृष्टि, it comes also after शक् as शंकुजा. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pâṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unâdi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is, their effects are not without remainder (सञ्चेष). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Sâkâtâyaña, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुज). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unâdi* affixes :

बाहुजकं प्रकृतेऽस्तनुदृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चव्यनादिपि वेषाम् ।  
 कार्यसशोषविधेश्व तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥  
 नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च तोकम् ।  
 यत्र पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेऽत तदूद्यम् ॥ २ ॥  
 संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययाश्च ततः परे ।  
 कार्याद्विद्यादनून्धमेतच्छालमुण्डाविषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उत्तादयः) ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उत्तादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unâdi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sûtra, it was taught that the *Unâdi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वर्मन् 'a way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः ॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साध्वो भवन्ति ॥  
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनयतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unâdi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गम्मी प्रामम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगमी 'that which has to come'. So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct)'. प्रतिबोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतिवायी; आयायी; भावी, &c.

*Vart* :—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future ज्ञृद्, and not of the second future ज्ञृद्. As चो गम्मी प्रामम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः,  
लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्ज्ञृद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yāvat' and 'purā'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus भाजोक्ते ते निपत्ति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावद्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शशुद्धनं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrughna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (*nipātas*), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् वास्त्वति तावद् भोक्त्यते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा व्रजिष्यति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्त्त्वेः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्त्त्वेः,  
(भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्ज्ञृद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs 'kadā' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुह्न्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्त्यते or भोक्ता ; so also कर्हि भुह्न्ते or भोक्त्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्,  
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्ताउपपदे जिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा ज्ञृद्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes उत्तर and उत्तम. The word जिष्ठा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो मिकां शस्यति, दशति, शाता, or कतमो मिकां शस्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटजिपुञ्च गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pāṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च,  
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिष्ठ्यमानसिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यतिकाले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word जिष्ठ्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to जिष्ठ्यमानात् सिद्धिः, an Ablative-Tatpurusha Compound, signifying siddhi or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As यो भक्तं दशति, स स्वर्गे गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं शस्यति or शाता, स स्वर्गे गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (जिष्ठ्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of svarga, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोहर्दलक्षणे च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ लोह-अर्ण-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्य-  
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोडर्थः प्रैषादिर्लेख्यते येन स लोडर्थलक्षणो धात्वर्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लिङ्गस्त्वयो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोडर्थ means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lat* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीव 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then *read* you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

**लिङ् चोधर्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥** लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोडर्थलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले लोडर्थलक्षणार्थं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भविष्यति लिङ्गस्त्वयो भवति, चकारात्पद् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhûrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्त, meaning 'that which exists in time *above* a muhûrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वे मुहूर्ताद्वपरि मुहूर्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीव 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

**तुमुन् एवुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥** तुमुन्, एवुलौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपर्वे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन् एवुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥ वर्त्तकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपर्वे वासरूपेण तज्जादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोक्तुम् ब्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको ब्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is ब्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्थी), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as निजिस्ये इति अस्य जटः 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावतस्ते पतिष्यति इष्टः 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why वृन् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. I. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लङ् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. I. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of वृन् in spite of लङ्.

*Vart.*—The repetition of the affix वृन् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like द्वच् &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. I. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता ब्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनात् ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियार्थाम्) ॥

वृन्ति: ॥ भावहति प्रकृत्य ये घभावयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियार्थामपदे क्रियार्थाम् भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as धच् &c. (III. I. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय ब्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूत्यै ब्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुष्ट्ये ब्रजति.

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वाऽसरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence तुमन् would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, घञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

**अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाऽसरूप not applying, the affix अनुज्ञा would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of अनुज्ञा of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परत्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो ब्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः। So also कम्बलदायो ब्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; अर्द्वदायो ब्रजति। दा+अण्=दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डनायो ब्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even by III. 2. 1.

**लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे, च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे गुरुद्वये भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपष्ठदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लंड, प्रथययो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संक्षीणदशानन्त्री वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and 'sānach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes शब्द and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace जट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace जट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्ते वेवदत्ते पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do'; करिष्यमाणं वेवदत्ते पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, it denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शुरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते वेवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ+जट्=कृ+स्य+लृट् (III. 1. 33)=कर+इट्+स्य+शब्द=करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्। In other words the participial affixes अत् (अन्त) and मान, technically known as शब्द and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लुट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लुट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेर्येव वर्तमानाद्वातोल्लुटप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिवेवने भवतनी भविष्यदर्येवन्नव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As एः कर्ता 'he will do tomorrow'. इवो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृङ् will be employed and not लृङ्. As अयं षो या भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

*Vart.*—The First Future (लृङ्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृङ्) when sorrow is expressed. As इयं तु करा गन्ता, यैवं पादौ निधाति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' अयं तु कराऽध्येता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पद्-रुज-विश-स्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ पदाक्षियो धातुभ्यो घञ्-प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spriś' (to touch).

The anuvṛitti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पादः 'foot'; रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेशः 'entrance'.

*Vart* :—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पर्श meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix भञ्, under rule III. I. 134; as स्पर्शो वेवहत्तः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

स्तु स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तु, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ सत्तेद्वातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तव्यं घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिमत्स्यवज्ञेषिवति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent moves through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, वा + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खडिसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सर्त्त 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

*Vart* :—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

बृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये धातोर्धञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच् + घञ् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); रथः 'abandoning'; रामः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes घञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As वृक्षिः, पचनम्, पाकौ, पाकाः। These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तेरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तेरि, च,  
कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृक्षिः ॥ कर्द्वर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghāñ' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीब्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति असाद्रसम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिलाहारः।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe मेषः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word मेष is related to the verb मिषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not घञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that घञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो इतः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तेरि is a compound word formed by the negative नभ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called पर्युक्तस, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसङ्गः प्रतिवेष is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तेरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नभ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसङ्गव्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, non-sit'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II. 2. 6 about नभ् Compound.

परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्या-  
यान्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्तिकम् ॥ दारनारो कर्त्तरि छिल्लक् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghāñi' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि+चि+घञ्=निचै+अ (VII. 2. 115)=निचाय(VI. I. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तप्तुजनिचायः हौ शूर्पनिष्पदौ। कृ 'to scatter'+घञ्=कारः। हौ कारौ; चयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अन् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣha*:—"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अन् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निचयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (रूढिः). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अन् or अप् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix न्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अन् and अप्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकातिन्नोच्छित्तिः, हौ प्रसूती &c.

*Vart*—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs दारि and जारि, and there is *luk* elision of the causative affix छिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus दारवन्ति भ्रातृन् = दाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour',

**इहश्च ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इहः, च, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इहो धातोर्धभ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने लियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा डीष् ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शृं वा युवर्णनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars भच् (III. 3. 56). As भधि+इ+घञ् = भधि+ऐ+अ = अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यासाधीते) 'a teacher'.

*Vart.*—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इह् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix डीष्. As उपेत्याधीयते॑स्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

*Vart.*—The affix घञ् comes after the root ग् when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकृत-नीशारः प्रायेष शिंशिरे कृषः ।

**उपसर्गं रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गं, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गं उपपदे रौतेर्पातोर्धभ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rū' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अ॒ (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.  
Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रवः 'sound'.

**समि युद्रुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्रु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द्रु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयावः, संद्रावः, संशावः. But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

**श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गं ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गं, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to) 'ṇī' (to lead) and 'bhū' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix भच् (III. 3. 56). As आयः 'shelter', नायः 'a means', भावः 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रभ्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love'; प्रभ्रः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभावः in प्रभावी राजः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभावः is not made from the compound root प्रभू+घञ्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of *samāsa*, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नय in नयो राजः? Here the root नै has taken the affix अच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

**वौ लुश्ववः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, लु-श्ववः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ वावुपरे शु शु इत्येत्योन्यां धातु-यों चञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञावः 'cough'; विश्रावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have लज्जः and श्रवः ।

**अवोदोनियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येत्योरुपपद्योन्यतेष्ठातीर्थ्यं चञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनायः 'throwing down'; उज्जायः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उज्जयः in उज्जयः परार्पणाम्? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

**प्रे द्रुस्तुलुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-लुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशन्त उपरे द्रु स्तु लु इत्येत्यो धातु-यो चञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'sru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रदावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रक्षावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and लवः ।

**निरभ्योः प्रलवोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर-अभ्योः, पू-लवोः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वव्योः पूल्वोर्ध्वातीर्थ्यं चञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pū' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word लु refers to both पूर्ण् and पूज्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लु । As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिज्ञावः 'moving'. But पवः and लवः, without these prepositions.

**उन्न्योर्यः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, ग्रः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उन्न्योरुपपद्योः गृ इत्येत्यस्माद्वातोर्थ्यं चञ्च प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grī' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उद्गारः समुद्रस्य 'the roaring of the sea'; निगरो वेवदत्तस्य 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गतः।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घज्, उन्नयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क इत्येतस्माद्वातोरुन्नयोरुपपद्योर्ध्वं प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्वात्वयोः भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the verb 'kr̥f', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb अः here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्वस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्वस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैष्योकरः 'a heap of alms', पञ्चनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे संपूर्वात्स्तौतेष्वज्ञप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्छन्दोगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas ; संस्ताव(=समेत्य  
स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशो छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeating  
hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवद्वाचयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रेऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तु अ आच्छादने भस्माद्वातोः प्रश्नाद्वदपपवे घम् प्रत्ययो भवति, न चेद्यज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'str̥' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः ‘a bed of conch’; मणिप्रस्तारः ‘strewing of gems’.

प्रथने वावश्वदे ॥३३॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अश्वदे, (स्त्रः, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वर्गभावादने अस्माद्वातोर्विशुद्धपये घट्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्यमाने तच्चे  
स्थपनं शुद्धविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghāfi' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word प्रथन् means 'extent, circuit, range'. As पठस्य विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, द्रुणविस्तरः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तरो वचसाम् 'prolixity of words'.

**छन्दो नाम्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥** छन्दः, नाम्नि, च, (वै, स्त्रः, घ०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विष्वार्द्धपातेश्छन्दोनाम्नि घञ्प्रथयशो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after 'st्री' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन्द here means prosodial metre such as Gāyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्त्र+घञ्प्र=वि+ष्टृ+घञ्प्र(VIII. 3. 94)=विष्टारः 'the name of a metre called Viṣṭāra-Pankti'.

The whole word विष्टारपंक्ति is the name of a metre, and is not a word *ending* with the affix *ghāñ*; only a member of this word, *i. e.* the first part ends with *ghāñ*. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्दोनाम्नि has the force of location *i. e.* when the word so formed occurs *in* a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the *full* name, but it is *in* the name *i. e.* forms a portion of the name.

**उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (घ०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपते ग्रहेद्वातोर्धभ्रप्रथयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निष्वार्द्धपीत्यते सुगुद्यमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप्. As उद्याहः 'lifting up'.

*Vart-*—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word ग्रह is preceded by नि; and the ह is changed into ष; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, उद्याहं च निमाहं च लक्ष्मेवा अवीवृधन् ।

**समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, घ०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्युपपते ग्रहेद्वातोर्धभ्रप्रथयो भवति मुष्टिविषयश्चेवधात्वयोः भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुष्टि means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, अहो मङ्गस्य संमाहः 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; अहो मुष्टिकस्य संमाहः 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe संमहो धान्यस्य 'a collection of grain'.

**परिन्योन्नैखोद्यूताखेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इणोः, द्यूत-अखेषयोः, (च०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चौपदे यथासंख्यं निव इष्टश धातोर्धभ्रत्ययो भवति, अचोपदादः, द्यूताखेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'nī' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि+नी and नि+इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणायेन शारान् इन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिणाय=समन्तान्त्रय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि+इ+घञ्=नि+ऐ+भ=नि+आय=न्याय: 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणाय: 'marriage', and न्ययं 'decay'; as न्ययञ्जनः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अवेष means पदार्थानामनपचारो यथाप्राप्तकरण् ।

**परावनुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥ पदानि॥ परौ, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (च०)॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपदे इणो धातोर्धभ्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालश्वर पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः=क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

**व्युपयोः शेते: पर्याये ॥३९॥ पदानि॥ वि-उपयोः, शेते:, पर्याये,(च०)॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः शेतेर्धातोर्धभ्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विशायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i.e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विशायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपशायः=तव राजानम् पश्चितुम्पर्यायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपशयः 'lying by the side of or ambush'; विशयः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये॥४०॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चे:, अस्तेये, (घञ)॥  
 वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्धंप्रत्ययो भवति, न चेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥  
 वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उच्चवद्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पप्रचायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलप्रचायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षाप्रस्थानां फलानां वर्ष्या प्रचयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पप्रचयचौर्येण्टा 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

*Vart.*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्चवदः 'gathering'; as पुष्पोचवदः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्व कः ॥४१॥ पदानि ॥ नि-  
 वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वयेषु चिनोतेर्धंप्रत्ययो भवति खालोरतेष्व  
 कक्कार आदेष्वो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवासति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चीयते) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निकायः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kasi-dwelling'; आकायमन्ति चिन्दित 'let him arrange the akāya fire i. e. the funeral fire'; कायः 'body', as अनित्यः कायः 'a perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चबः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काङ्गनिचबः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

संचे चानौत्तराधर्ये ॥४२॥ पदानि ॥ संचे, च, अनौत्तराधर्ये,  
 (चे:, आदेष्व, कः, घञ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संचे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्धंप्रत्ययो भवति आदेष्व कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संच means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by पर्युद्दा negation the other is taken. Thus भिक्षुनिकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; वैयाकरणनिकायः 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But सूक्तरनिच्चयः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संच in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix ग्रहः is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे णच् स्त्रियान् ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,  
णच्, स्त्रियान् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने धातोर्णच्चमस्ययो भवति लीनिङ्गे वाच्ये ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha च in णच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि+अव+क्तुर्ग+णच्+अव्य+डीष=व्यावकोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहासी, व्यावज्जेखी. The affix णच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अव् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix डीष of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe व्यतिपाको शर्तसे!

The making of this a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with न्तिन् (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with न्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred न्तिन् &c, would *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar न्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावचोरी, व्यावचर्ची। Here चुर् being a चन्त् class root would have taken चुच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरणा ; and चर्चा would have taken अङ् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईश् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take अ by debarring निन्। This debarring affix अ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीक्षा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीक्षी &c. The form व्यातुक्षी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुज्ञं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुण् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inun' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus सांराविणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं+कूट+इन्+अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI. 4. 164) = संकूटिणम् 'a general confusion'; so साक्षादिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संकोषः, संरावः, संद्रावः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18 ? The object is that the वासस्तृप् rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence घञ् never comes in this sense. Pātanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त् &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त् &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix ल्युद् is not, however, prohibited; as संकूटिणम्. See rule कृत्यल्युटो बहुज्ञं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येत्योरुपदद्योवृहेर्धत्तोर्धम्प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately, near, we take the anuvṛitti of घञ् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvṛitti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवमाहो हन्त ते वृष्टनभूयात् 'cursed be thou, O! sinner'. So also निमाहस्ते भूयात् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्थ ; निमहस्तेरस्थ ।

प्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपते महेऽर्थातोर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति जिप्सायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रप्राहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; कूवप्रथाहेण चरति द्विजो इक्षिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word जिप्सा means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रभावे वेवदत्तस्य ।

**परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (यजः, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपते यहेऽर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिमाहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधर-परिमाहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिमाहः वेवदत्तस्य 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

**नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दउपपते वृ इत्येतस्माद्यातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये वर्तम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vṛi' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृङ् and वृञ्. This debars the affix अप्. As नीवारा: 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

**उदि श्रयतियैतिपूद्रुवः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, श्रयति-यैति-पू-द्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपते श्रयतयादिःयो वर्तम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'śri', 'yu', 'pū' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप् (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छ्रुत्यः 'rising of a planet'; उत्त्यावः 'mixing'; उत्त्वावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रावः 'flight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रुत्यः in पतनान्तः: समुच्छ्रुत्यः? The word विभाषा 'optionally' in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called सिंहावज्ञोकनन्यायः 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

**विभाषा आङ्गि-रुप्‌लुबोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आङ्गि, रु-  
प्‌लुबोः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ्गि उपपदे रौतेः हृतेऽभ विभाषा घम्पत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghāñ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'āñ' is in composition.

As आरावः or आरवः: 'noise'; आष्ट्रावः or आष्ट्रः: 'bathing'.

**अवे यहो वर्षप्रतिबन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यहः, वर्ष-प्रति-  
बन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपदे यहेधातोर्विभाषा घम्पत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिबन्धेऽभिधेये ॥

51. The affix 'ghāñ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिबन्ध means the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived; as अवग्राहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

**प्रे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ प्रे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, यहः, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्द उपपदे यहेधातोर्विभाषा घम्पत्ययो भवति प्रवययान्तवाच्यश्चेद् वणिजां सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghāñ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाप्रग्रहः or तुलाप्रग्राहः, as तुलाप्रग्रहेण चरति or तुलाप्रग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe प्रयहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

**रश्मौ च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मौ, च, (यहः, विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र शब्दउपपदे यहेधातोर्विभाषा घम्पत्ययो भवति रश्मश्चेत्प्रत्ययान्तेनाभिधीयते ॥

53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रथिन means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control; as प्रमहः or प्रग्राहः: 'a rein'.

**वृणोतेराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे वृणोतेर्धातोविभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं न चेवाच्छादनविशेष उच्चयते ॥

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vṛi' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः: 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering'? Observe प्रवरागौ।

**परौ भुवो अवज्ञाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्ञाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे विभाषा घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्ञाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhū', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभ्रवः or परिभवः: 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard'? The word परिभ्रवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः: 'surrounding'.

**एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तेरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ इवणान्ताद्वातोर्भावे अकर्तेरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अडिवतौ भवादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जवसतौ द्वन्द्वसि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'ī' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sūtras 18 and 19: and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sūtra as far as sūtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sūtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः: 'collecting'; भयः: 'going'; जयः: 'victory'; ज्ञयः: 'wasting'.

*Vart.*—In this connection the words भव &c. should also be enumerated. As भी+अच्=भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix अ॒ &c. but for this Vārtika.

*Vart.*—The words जव and सव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वेरस्तु मे जवः, पंचैदनसवः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

**ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेऽय उवर्णान्तेऽयथ अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ṛ̥', short 'u', or long 'ū', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars वभ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. i. 3); as, वृ+अप्=करः 'scattering'; गृ—गरः 'beverage, poison'; शृ—शुरः 'arrow'; चु—चवः 'barley'; लू—लवः 'reaping'; पू—पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The व् in ऋद् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not त् changed into व्; for then by the rule "that which follows त् is also called तप्त" short उ only would have been taken and not long उ (I. i. 70).

**यहवृद्वनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यह-वृ-द्व-निश्चि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ विशिरण्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ घञ्ये कविधानं स्थास्नापाव्यधिहनियुद्यर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vri', 'dri', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars वभ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अच् is debarred. As यहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; वरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अच्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

*Vart.*—The roots वश् and रण् should also be included in this; as वशः 'obedient'; रणः 'battle'.

*Vart.*—When the sense is that of वभ्, the affix क is directed to be employed, after the following verbs:—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यध, हन् and युध्. As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपा: 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविधः (VI. i. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विप्रः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आयुधः 'battle' (where they fight).

**उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽवैधातोरप्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विघ्सः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; प्रघसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद् + घञ् = घस् + अ (II. 4. 38).

**नौ ण च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, ण, च, (अदः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपर्युक्ते भवेधातोर्णःप्रत्ययो भवति चकाराहप् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ण = नि + आद् + अ = न्यादः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + घस् + अ (II. 4. 38) = निघसः 'eating, food'.

**व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरनुपसर्गयोरप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आव्याषा, उपजाया।

**स्वनहसोर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्प्रवययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'svan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्वानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; प्रस्वानः 'a loud noise'; प्रहासः 'a loud laughter'.

**यमः समुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषुपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेष्वियमेवा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घञ्. As संयमः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयमः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियमः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियमः or वियमः 'check, distress'; यमः or यमः।

**नौ गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद्-नद्-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निश्चिद उपपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. Thus निगदः or निगादः: 'recitation'; निनदः or निनादः: 'noise'; निपठः or निपाठः: 'reading'; निस्वनः or निस्वानः: 'a noise'.

**कणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नी, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कणतेष्वतोर्निपूर्वादनुपसर्गच्च वीणायां वा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvaj' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix घञ्. Thus निकणः or निकाणः: 'a musical tone'. कणः or काणः: 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कल्पाणप्रकणा वीणा.

But not so here, अतिकणो वर्तते, where the upasarga being अति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, कणः takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

**नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, अस्माद्वातोर्नित्यमप्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्य 'invariably' is used in the aphorism in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word optionally. Thus मूळकपणः: 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः: 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पाणः: 'trade'.

**सदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेष्वतोरनुपसर्गव्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars चम्. As विद्यामहः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमहः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमहः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मादः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमदसम्मदै हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदै, हर्षे ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिज्ञानां संमहः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; संमादः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are रूढे in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥६८॥ पदानि ॥ सम-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरपदयोरजतेऽद्वितोः पशुविषये धात्वयेऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चम्. The root अज् 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशुनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशुनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe समाजो आश्वस्त्रानां, उदाजः भवन्नियाणां !

अज्ञेषु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अज्ञेषु, ग्लहः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अज्ञविषयवद्द्वात्वयोः भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root ग्ल. The verb ग्ल takes the affix अप् and thus forms ग्लह; and then irregularly ग्ल is changed into ग्लज् as भग्नस्य ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe ग्लः पादस्व !

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring चम्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः ! The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लाहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix चम् !

प्रजने सर्तः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सर्तः, (अप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ संतंर्धातोः प्रजने विषये अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars घ्र. The word प्रजने means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशुनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

हृवः संप्रसारणे च न्यन्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ हृवः,  
संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्यतेषु उपवैषु हृवयतेष्वातोः संप्रसारणम् अप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars घ्र. As नि + हृवे + अप् = नि + हु + अ (VI. I. 108) = नि + हो + अ (VII. 3. 84) = निहव (VI. I. 78) 'invocation'; अभिहवः 'invocation'; उपहवः 'invitation; विहवः 'calling'. But प्रह्रायः 'a summons'.

आडि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडि, युद्धे, (हृवः, संप्रसारण, अप्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ आडि उपपदे हृवयतेष्वातोः संप्रसारणमप् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिषेचे ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'āñ', and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आहवः 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise भाहायः 'calling'.

निपानमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपानम्, आहावः, (आडि,  
हृवः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहूपूर्वस्य हृवयतेष्वातोः संप्रसारणमप्रत्ययो कृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपानं चेदभि-  
षेचे भवति ॥

74. The word 'āhāva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from हृ॒ by the prefix आ, then samprasāraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ + हृ॒ + अप् = आहू॒ + अ = आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise भाहायः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

**भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥** भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (हृवः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य हृवयते: संप्रसारणमप्रस्थयो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हृवः: 'calling'; हृवे हृवे सुहृवं गूरमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it ? Observe आह्वायः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken ; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

**हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्द्वातोरनुपसर्गे भावे अप् प्रस्थयो भवति, तस्यनियोगेन च वधादेशः, सचान्तोदाशः ।

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'hau' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudātta generally (III. i. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधश्चोराणम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोऽस्यनाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix वज्रः applies; as घातः 'a blow.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः, घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix वज्रः also ; as घातः 'killing'.

**मूर्च्छौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्च्छौ, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्च्छावभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्रस्थयो भवति, घञ्चादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्च्छौ means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अभघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं दधि ? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

**अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अम्तःपूर्वाद्विन्तेरप्रस्थयो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशोऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'anta' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर् + हन् + अप् = अन्तर् = यन् + अ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ए as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

**अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, च, (हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्ते: प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghāṇa' and 'praghāṇa' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

**उद्घनोत्याधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्घनः, अत्याधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्घन इति निपात्यते अत्याधानं चेत् भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत् + हन् irregularly. Thus उद्घनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

**अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यते, अङ्गः चेत्सभवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप् + हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

**करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अयस् वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपरेषु हन्तेर्घातोः करणे कारकेऽप्रस्वयो भवति, घनावेशात् ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोधनः: 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विधनः: 'a mallet'; द्रुधनः: 'an axe'. Some write द्रुधणः; the न being changed into ण either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरोहणादि (IV. 2. 80).

**स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे कारके हन्ते: कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारादप् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sūtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case वन् replaces हन्. Thus स्तम्बग्नः or स्तम्बघनः: 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बघना as well as स्तम्बघना। When क is added, we have स्तम्बग्नः। Thus हन्+क=हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98)=प् (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by अप्। When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः।

**परौ घः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, घः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे हन्ते द्रष्टोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके घण्डभावेशः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिघः or पलिघः (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

**उपग्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपग्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्ते रप्प्रत्यय उपधानोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate अ of उप; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi rules हन् is changed into अनः। This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus पर्वतोपधनः: 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also आपोपधनः: 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning "support"? Observe पर्वतोपधातः।

संघोद्गौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्गौ, गण-प्र-  
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्वं) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदुशोहपवद्योर्हन्ते द्वितीरप्रत्ययादिलोपो घट्वं च निपात्यते, यथा संख्यं गणेऽभिधेये  
प्रगांसादां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgħa' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सम् + हन् + अप् = सं + ह + अ = सं + घ् + अ = संघः । Thus संघः पशुनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्गौ मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'. The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these senses, we have संवातः 'union'.

निधो निमितम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निधः, निमितम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निध इति निपूर्वाद्वितीरप्रत्ययादिलोपो घट्वं च निपात्यते निमितं चेदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'. As निधा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निधा शान्तयः 'square or cubic or circular halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निधातः 'a blow'. The word निमित्=समन्तान्मितं, समारोहप्रिणाहम् । It may be derived from मा or from मि । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'. Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning of this word.

द्विवतः कित्रः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, कित्रः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,  
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इवस्य तस्माद् द्विवतो धातोः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has an indicatory 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the previous aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix कि, मप् is always the augment) we must add म, for we can not use the affix कि alone; but we must always use क्रिम. Thus दुपचष् 'to cook'—पक्किम् 'what is ripe'; दुवप्—उपक्रिमम् 'sown' (VI. 1. 15); दुकृष्ट—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial'.

द्वितोरयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि,  
कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दु इवस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोरयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावादै ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As दुर्वैषु—वैष्युः 'a trembling'; दुधोऽधि—धय्युः 'swelling'; दुक्षु—क्षव्युः 'sneezing'; दुरु—दव्युः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रचक्षरक्षो नह् ॥९०॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-  
विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नह्, (भावे, अकर्त्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजाहिष्यो धातुयो नह् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'vichchhh' (to shine), 'prachchhh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nañ' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sútras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The क् of नह् is for the sake of prohibiting guña or vridddhi(I. I. 5); as यजः 'sacrifice'; याच्या 'solicitation'; अक्षः 'effort'; विशः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रशः 'a question'; रक्षणः protection.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. I. 16, ought to have changed its ट into छ before the हित् affix नह्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pâṇini, as we know from the fact that Pâṇini himself uses the form प्रशः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्त्तरि, कारके) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेधातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197); as स्वपः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गं घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गं, घोः, किः, (भावे, अ-  
कर्त्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे धुसंजकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final जा is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+श+कि=प्रशिः 'a present'; प्रधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्धिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मणयधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः,  
भावे, अकर्त्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मएयुपपके घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किःप्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जनधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix कि from the last sūtra.

सित्रयां क्तिन् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सित्रयास्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खीजिहगे भावादौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निनावादिः यथ वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयजिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ग्नाम्लाङ्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारल्वादिभ्यः निनिष्ठावज्वति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः किः ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'ktin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3. 18. and 19 are understood here also. This supersedes चन्, अच् and अप् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; चितिः 'a gathering'; मतिः 'understanding'.

*Vart.*—The affix *ktin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus आतिः 'getting'; राज्ञिः 'accomplishment'; रीतिः 'shining'; स्त्रितिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; ज्ञवितिः 'gain'.

*Vart.*—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear (that by which we hear)'; so यज्ञिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise'.

*Vart.*—The affix नि comes after the verbs ग्नै 'to be exhausted', ग्नै 'to fade', उद्या 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as ग्नानिः 'exhaustion'; ग्नानिः 'fading', उद्यानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

*Vart.*—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long च and the verbs लू &c. is like a *Nishṭhā*. Thus कीर्णिः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्तिन् = कि + ति (VII. 1. 100) = किर्ण + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर्ण + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त is changed into न by the affix being treated as a *Nishṭhā* (VIII. 2. 42), and this न is changed into ए by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णः: 'praise'; जीर्णः: 'old age'; शीर्णः: 'drying'; जूनः: (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; यूनः: 'joining'; धूनः: 'agitation'; पूनः: 'destruction'.

*Vart.*—The affix कित् comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix किन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः। The verbs जूः &c. are 21 verbs of kryādi class.

स्थागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-गा-पा-पचः, भावे,  
(स्त्रियाम्, किन्) ॥

धृतिः ॥ स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीनिहृणे भावे किन् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthâ' (to stand), 'gâ' (to sing) 'pâ' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'ktin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix अङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes किन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थितिः: 'a journey' (VII. 4. 40); उद्गीति: 'a singing aloud'; गौ+किन्=गा+ति (VI. 1. 45)=गी+ति (VI. 4. 66); सर्गीति: 'a concert'; प्रपीति: 'a cistern'; संपीति: 'drinking together'; पक्तिः: 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛitti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like अवस्था and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like अवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix अङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply किन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेषपचमनविद्भूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,  
वृष-वृष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, किन्) ॥

युतिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः किन् प्रस्थयो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'ktin' acutely accentuated comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vriṣh' (to rain), 'iṣh' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृषिः: 'raining'; इषिः: 'wishing'; पक्तिः: 'cooking'; मतिः: 'thinking'; विज्ञिः: 'knowing'; भूतिः: 'being'; वीतिः: 'consuming'; रातिः: 'giving'.

The affix किन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इष् we have also an irregular noun इच्छा (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II. 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

ऋतियूतिजूतिसाति हेतिकीर्त्तयश्च ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋति-  
यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥  
वत्तिः ॥ उत्त्वाद्यः शब्दवा निपाद्यन्ते ॥

97. And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word संत्वे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed :—अृ॒ 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ॑ + ति: (VI. 4. 20) = ऊति:। This form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in पूति: and जूति: consists in the lengthening of ऊ into ऊ; in साति: the आ of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति ।

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सुहस्त्रधनेषु च । उम्भुमाभिरूतिभिः ॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

ब्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रज-यजीः, भावे, क्यप्,  
(उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्धात्मोः खिञ्जिंगे भावे क्यप् प्रस्थयो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes किन्. Thus ब्रह्मा 'wandering about'; इत्या (VI. I. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्वप् is indicatory, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्वप् having प्, that we add a त by VI. I. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

संक्षायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविद्युअश्रीडृभृजिखः ॥५६॥ पदानि ॥  
संक्षायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-युज्ञ-श्रीडृ-भृज्ञ-इखः, (स्त्रियां, कथप्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समजाक्षियो धातुभ्यः स्थिरां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an 'appellative' and is acutely accented viz.—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śīñ', 'bhṛīñ' and 'in'.

Thus समझा 'an assembly'; निष्पत्ता 'a small bed or couch'; निष्पत्ता 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सृत्या (VI. I. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शृण्या 'bed'; भृत्या 'wages, service'; इव्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. I. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an 'appellative' which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. I. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एवत् to the exclusion of क्यप्।

संज्ञायां पंचि दृष्टवा न से भार्या प्रसिद्धति ।

स्थिरां भावधिकारोऽस्ति नेत्र भार्या प्रसिद्धति ॥

The word भावधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāsikā as भावव्यापारो, चाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, नतु शास्त्रीयोऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्थिरां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kri' comes the affix 'sa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called योगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two :—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्लिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. I. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III. I. 67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छातोः शः प्रत्ययो यागभावश्च निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिच्छापरिस्तर्यासुग्रायादात्यानामुपर्संख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जागतेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichchhā' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इच्छा + श = इच्छा + भ = इच्छा. The यक् ordained by III. I. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

*Vart.*—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्वा 'perambulation'; परिचर्वा 'attendance, service'; वृगया 'hunting'; अटाट्य 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

*Vart.*—From the root जाग् we have either जागरा or जागर्य 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (सित्रयाम्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तेष्यो धातुभ्यः लियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ+सन्=चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ। Thus चिकीर्ष्+अ (VI. 4. 48)=चिकीर्ष । Then we add वा॑ by IV. I. 4 and get चिकीर्ष 'the desire to do'; so also जिह्वोर्ष 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; जोन्या 'much cutting'; कण्ड्या 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोऽह हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (सित्रयां, अ) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ततः लियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodically heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्लिन्। Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हृङ्गा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; उहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodically heavy vowel'? Observe अन्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

षिद्धिदादिभ्योरङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ षित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः,  
अङ्, (सित्रयाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ षिद्धयो भिद्धिभ्यश्च लियामङ्ग्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'ai' comes after those verbs that have an indicatory 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृष् has an indicatory ष्, the real root being जृः। From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); त्रुष्—त्रपा 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of *Bhidādi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भित्तिः। So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting'; आरा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; आत्तिः 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; वृत्तिः : The list of *Bhidādi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupātha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिंदा, द्विदा, विदा, क्षिपा, गुहा (गियोऽवध्योः), अद्वा, मेधा, गोधा, धारा, हारा, कारा, ज्ञिया, भारा, धारा, लेखा, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, सृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (क्रपे:संप्रसारणं च) ॥

**चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-  
कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अड्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते लियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ān' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words :—'chint' (to think), 'pūj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churddi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्बा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. I. 1).

**आतशोपसर्गे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (स्त्रियां, अड्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे लियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अद्वन्तरोऽपसर्गद्वृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'ān' comes after those verbs which end in long 'ā' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रशा, प्रधा, उपशा, उपधा, &c.

*Vart.*—For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus अद्वा 'faith' अन्तद्वा (I. 4. 59).

**ग्यासश्रन्त्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्यि-आस-श्रन्त्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्णन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसश्रन्त्य इत्येताभ्यां च लियां युच्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वद्विविद्विविद्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इष्वरनिच्छापर्यस्य युज्वलक्ष्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ परेवा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'ās' (to sit) and 'śranth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. I. 102). Thus कृ+युच्=कारि; कारि+युच्=कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 51) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; अन्पना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आस्या? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding यत् to the root आस् by III. I. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. I. 94, which declares that वाऽस्त्रूप् rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाम् in III. I. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix न्ति॒न् (III. 3. 9), क्षय॑प् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utsarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavâda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general कृत् affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes यत्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. I. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix यत्.

The root अन्प्य taken here belongs to the *Kryādi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the अन्प्य of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix युच्।

*Vart.*—The verbs चढ़ 'to move', वन्द 'to praise', and विद 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus चढना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb चढ़ here belongs to the Tudādi class, and means 'to move' and not चइ of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being यिजन्ते।

*Vart.*—The affix युच् comes after इष् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अध्येषणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेषणा 'the searching after'.

*Vart.*—So also optionally when इष् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्येषणा or परीष्टि; 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगास्यायां गवुलबहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आस्यायाम्,  
गवुल्, बहुलम् (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगास्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्बहुजं पुन्नप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिहंशो गवुलबहुलम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्षितपौ धातुनिहंशो इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ वर्णातिकारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ रादिकः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्वर्थाच्छ्रः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इन्जादित्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इक्कृष्ट्यादित्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'.

This debars न्ति॒न् and all the rest. By using the word आख्या॑ in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. Thus पच्छादिका (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; प्रशादिका 'diarrhoea'; विचर्चिका 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as शिरोर्ति॑: 'head-ache'.

*Vart.*—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, आशिका 'to enjoy', शाविका to 'lie down' &c.

*Vart.*—The affixes इक् and द्वित् (that is शप् and तिप्) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as निदि॑, द्विहि॑, पचति॑, पठति॑ &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root अ॒शि॑ and शु॒ यु॒ exhibited as अश्यति॑ and शौति॑। These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

*Vart.*—The affix कार् is employed in merely pointing out letters; as ककार् means 'the letter क'; so also अकार्: 'the letter अ'; इकार्: 'the letter इ'

*Vart.*—The affix इक् is employed in pointing out the letter र; as रेक्।

*Vart.*—The affix शु॒ comes after the word नत्वर्य॑ in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final ध; as मस्तवर्य॑यः।

*Vart.*—The affix इभ् comes after the verbs भज् &c; as आजि॑, आति॑, आहि॑।

*Vart.*—The affix इक् comes after the verbs कृष् &c; as, कृषि॑, क्रिति॑, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (गवुल्, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोण्वृज्जप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix 'nvul' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As उद्धालकपुष्टभंजिका 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which uddālaka flowers are broken or crushed'. वरणपुष्ट-प्रशादिका 'a sort of game'; आम्यूषप्रखादिका; आचोपखादिका; शाज्जंजिका; ताज्जंजिका।

विभाषाख्यानपरिश्नयोरिज् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-  
ख्यान-परिश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (गवुल्, स्त्रियां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने भाख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिज्जप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix 'in' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as 'nvul' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word परिप्रश्न means 'question' and भाख्यान means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound भाख्यानपरिप्रश्न may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand first (II. 2. 34), and hence *Akhyāna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word पूज् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां त्वं कारिनकार्षः 'What work did you do'? A.—सर्वां कारिनकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कृत्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, भक्तार्थाः A.—सर्वां कारिकां or कृत्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां भक्तार्थम्। Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणां, गणिकां &c.) भजीगणाः A.—सर्वांगणिं &c. अन्जीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याचिम् or याचिकाम् &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and इति:

पर्यायार्हेत् पत्तिषु एवुच् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याद-अर्ह-ऋण-उत्-  
पत्तिषु, एवुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

पृचिः ॥ एतेवयेषु धातोऽवृच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'पृचु' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्लिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शशिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽप्रासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिक्षुभक्तिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्तिकां मे धार्यसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पथःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्तिका मे उपपादि ।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिकीवेत्पद्यते ।

The forms given by पूज् and एवुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. I. 193, and VI. I. 163).

आक्रोशे नज्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नजि, अनिः ॥  
पृचिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नज्युपदे धातोरनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्लिन् &c. Thus अकरणिस्ते वृष्ण भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' तस्याकरणिरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नज् is in composition'? Observe सृतिस्ते वृष्ण भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O! sinner'!

कृत्यल्युटो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, ल्युटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvṛitti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras III. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; शनीयो नारायणः 'a Brāhmaṇa' to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शङ्खः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छादनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krīt* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याम् हियते = पादहारकः । गले चोप्यते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

**नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकनिळ्हगे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जल्पितं 'speech'; शायितं 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

**ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकनिङ्के भावे धातोल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शशनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvṛitti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्तः ।

**कर्मणि च येन संस्पर्शात् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥**

**कर्मणि, च, येन, संस्पर्शात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पृश्यमानस्य कर्तुः शरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदेभावोनपुंसकजिंगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix 'lyut' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing; from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix ल्युट् comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a नित्य or invariable compound *i. e.* a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every उपापद compound is a नित्य compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus पथः पानं सुखं 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; औदनभोजनं सुखं 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe तूनिकाया उत्थानं सुखं 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the upapada तूनिका is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe अग्निकुडस्योपासनं सुखं 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe गुरुः स्नापनं सुखं 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word गुरुः is not the agent, but the object of the verb स्नापयति ।

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe पुत्रस्य परिष्वज्जनं सुखम् 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe कट्टकानां मर्दनं हुखम् 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras.

**करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च, (ल्युट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ करणोऽधिकरणे च कारके धातोल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix 'lyut' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus इधप्रवचनः: 'an axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); पलाशातनः: 'palāsa-cutter'; गोदोहनी 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also सक्तुधानी। In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

**पुंसि संज्ञायां चः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्,**  
**चः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंलिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिवेदयोर्धातोर्वः प्रथयो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the 'masculine gender.

The force of the word प्रायेण 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus दृश्यद्वयः: 'the lip'. छापि 'to cover' + च(VI. 4. 96) = छद् lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also उरच्छ्रव 'a breast plate'; चटः। These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus आ+कृ+च=आकरः: 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, आन्यः: 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe प्रसाधनम् 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative? Observe प्रहरणो इण्डः: 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory च is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative छापि, when च is added, the long आ is shortened,

**गोचरसंचरवह्वव्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-**  
**संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपण-निगमाः, च (चः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा यपत्ययान्ता निपातयन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवायेण ॥

119. And the words 'gochara', 'samchara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'âpana' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix च with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavâda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix चम् is added. Thus गोचरः: 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); संचरः: 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); वहः: 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); व्रजः: 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); व्यजः: 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the अ॒ज् of अ॒व्य॑ज् (वि + अ॒ज्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपण् 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगमः 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निकषः: 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्ध्वंज् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-  
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपते तरसेस्त्रातेऽथ धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghāñ' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'stṛi' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes च । The च् is indicatory and causes the vriddhi of च् (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory च् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus भवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a deity); भवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply भवतार also in phrases like भवतारो नव्यः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राच् is understood here also; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलश्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-  
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्वातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्ध्वंभञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghāñ', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); बन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which the devout delight).

अथ्यान्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाश्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अथ्याय-  
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अध्यायादयः शब्दा घञ्नता निपात्यते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyâya', 'nyâya', 'udyâva', 'samhâra', 'âdhâra' and âvâya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3. 118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी—न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्-यु—उद्यावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); सम्-ह—संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ-धृ—आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ-वि—आवायः = आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

**उदङ्कोऽनुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वयै भवति ॥

123. The word 'udâṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अंच+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water',

Thus तैलोदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोऽनंचनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अंच+न्युद्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उदंच्? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udâttâ accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final.

**जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेन्द्रङ्गवति ॥

124. The word 'ânâya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो सुगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

**खनो च च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, घ, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्हातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धःप्रतययो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ ढो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ डरो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिंकम् ॥ इको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकवको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' [comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).]

The affix घम् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word च । Thus भाखनः or भाखनः: 'a spade, a hoe'.

*Vart.*—The affix च also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus भाखन् + ड = भाखः: 'a spade'. The indicatory ए showing that the final portion called ए॒ should be elided.

*Vart.*—The affix उर also comes in the same sense; as भाखरः: 'a spade'.

*Vart.*—So also the affix इकः; as भाखनिकः: 'a spade'.

*Vart.*—So too the affix इकवक as भाखनिकवकः: 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु कुच्छालुच्छार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-  
सुषु, कुच्छ-अलुच्छ-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत् दुस् सु इत्यैतेषूपपदेषु कुच्छालुच्छार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛitti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कुच्छ् means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word भवुच्छ् means 'light, easy'; and the words ईषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः: 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुक्करः: 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः: 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः: 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः; and सुभोजः: ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c.? See कुच्छेण कार्यः कटः: 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light'? Observe ईषत्कार्यं 'a small work'.

Of the affix खन्, the letter ख and न् are indicatories; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम् augment, VI. 3. 67); and ल् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकज्ञाः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृ-कर्मणोः, च, भू-  
कज्ञोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवते; कर्तोतेश्च धातोर्यथासंख्ये कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे चकारादीषद्विषु च खल्  
प्रस्थयो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्चवर्थयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhū' and 'kṛi', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषशाद्य भवते 'being enriched easily'; दुराद्य भवते 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाध्यकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

*Vart.*—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix चिं (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वाधेन भूयते or भाषेन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कुच्छ्रा-  
कुच्छ्रार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुच्छ्राकुच्छ्रार्थेषु ईषशादिष्पूपदेषु आकारान्तेष्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रथयो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'ā', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषः &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृ-  
कर्मण् &c. This supersedes the affix खल्. Thus ईषत्पानः 'सोमो भवता 'the soma juice  
can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be  
drunk'. ईषत्पानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्वानः; सुशानः; &c.

लन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,  
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कुच्छ्राकुच्छ्रार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषशादिषु कुच्छ्राकुच्छ्रार्थेषुपूपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातु-वश्वन्दसि विषये युच् प्रथयो  
भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खल्. Thus सूपसद्नोऽग्निः । सूपसद्नमन्तरिक्षम् । See T.S.  
7. 5. 20, I.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,  
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेष्यो वश्वन्दसि विषये युच् प्रथयो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषावां शासित्युधिश्चिधृविमृश्यो युज् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go',

Thus सुरोह नाम कृष्णोऽव्रस्तये गां ; so also सुरेद नाम कृष्णोऽव्रस्तये गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

*Vart.*—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuck' comes after the verbs शास्, युध्, दृग्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsásana'; दुर्योधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्वर्जनः, दुर्दर्षणः; and दुर्जनः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-  
सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसामीप्ये भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानवद्वातोर्वर्तमानवत्पत्वया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix अव्यक्त्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix अव्यक्त् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words आतुर्बन्ध्यः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने अव्यक्त्) and end with III. 3. 1 (अपावय बहुलं), are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्ताऽगतोसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may be replied, either अयमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अयमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोस्म्यागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्त गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्तास्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus शान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakṛitis ग् and अज् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after ग् and अज्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, भजन्करिष्याः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्य)'? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As परु भगच्छत् पाटनिपुचम् 'he went day before yesterday to Pātaliputra'; वर्षेण  
भविष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम् भूतवत्,  
च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥\*

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रस्तवा भवन्ति चकाराद्  
वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशेसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लुङ्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपाकाश्चैदगमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते द्वाकरणमध्यगीत्तिहि, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अधेष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by ज्ञुङ् (Aorist); and not by लङ् or ज्ञिङ्. For ज्ञुङ् denotes past time in general, while ज्ञङ् and ज्ञिङ् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to ज्ञिङ् or ज्ञङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

क्षिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसावां गम्यमानावां धातोल्लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly), or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायभेदत्तिप्रमाणमिष्वति (or उपाध्यायभेदत्तिः—Apte.) ज्ञित्वा करण्यमध्येवामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of ज्ञिप्र also, such as शीत्रं, भासु, स्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न ज्ञिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लुट्. By specifying लृट् we mean that लुट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:— चः ज्ञिप्रमध्येवामहे 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्जिह्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *aparāda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायभेदागच्छेवं, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीर्थीय 'If the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे ज्ञिप्रमधीर्थीय 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये युक्तोऽधीर्थीय, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न,  
अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes अवृत् (Imperfect Past) and अग्र (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. The word क्रियाप्रबन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; and सामीक्ष्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावर्जनीवं भूषामनसदात् (not भूषदात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भूषामनं शस्यति 'he will give much food'. यावर्जनीवं पुरोऽयापित् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावर्जनीवम-इयापित्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus येवं पौर्णमास्यतिकान्ता, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधित् or सोमेनायष्ट or गामदित् 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. येवमावाद्याऽग्निर्मिती, एतस्यामुपाध्यायोग्नीनाधास्यते or सोमेन यज्ञयते, or स गां शस्यते 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनयतन 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

**भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानयतनवत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काङ्गे मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनयतनवत् प्रश्यविधिर्भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानयतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus योऽयमध्यागान्तर्य आपाटनिषुभास्यस्य यद्यवरं कौशास्त्रास्तत्रोदनं भोह्यामहे, तत्र सत्कून्पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe योऽयमध्यागत आपाट-निषुभात् तस्य यद्यवरं कौशास्त्रास्तत्र युक्ता भवेत्येति 'on this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.'

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe योऽयमध्यानिरवधिक-

गन्तव्यस्तत्य यद्वरं कौशाम्भ्यास्तबोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुन् पातास्मः। Here the First Future is employed:

Why do we say 'when the word अवर is in construction'? Observe योऽयमवागन्तव्य आपादजिपुनात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्भ्यास्तबोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

**कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सर्ववरक्षिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रश्यविधिर्नै भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of space and time, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of time only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संक्षेप आगामी तत्र अवरमाप्न्यायास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रौदनं भोज्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वृत्सरोऽतीतरतस्य यद्वरमाप्न्यायास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यमहि 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before last, we *read together*'; तत्रौदनमभुज्ञमहि 'we *ate together* &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल भागामी तस्य अवराप्न्यायायास्तत्र युक्ता अध्येत्यामहे—तत्रौदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास भागामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशात्रः or योऽयं चिंशुदशात्र भागामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्द्धमासः or योऽयं चिंशुहोरात्र भागामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अध्येतास्महे तत्र सक्तुन् पातास्मः। Here लुप्त or First Future has been employed and not the Second Future.

**परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भविष्यति, सर्वोदावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥**

दृक्षिः ॥ कालमर्यादविभागे सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषा । न अतनवत् प्रत्ययदिविर्जनं भवति, न चेहरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time.

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमामहायात्रास्तज्युक्ता अथेष्यामहे or अथेतास्तमहे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अव.

**लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥**

दृक्षिः ॥ हेतुहेतुभूतोलिङ्गित्येवमादिकं जिङ्गो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lrin' the affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—Apte's Guide.

Thus सुवृद्धिश्चेदभविष्यत् तत्र सुभिज्ञमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

So also here, इक्षिणेन चेशायास्तज्यशकटे पर्यामविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् भाऊस्यत् न शकटे

पर्याभिष्वयत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आभोक्षयत् भवान् धूतेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come)'.

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्गनिमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाति पत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काने लिङ्गनिमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सरथाम् जृहप्रस्थयो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined जृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ्ग are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—हृषी मया भवत्सुचोऽन्तर्धा चहक्षयमाणः भारतश्च हिंजो ब्राह्मणार्थी, यदि स तेन हृषीभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्षयत्, न तु भुक्षवान्, अन्येन पथा स गतः 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन हृषीभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्षयत् is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

वोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्गनि-  
चित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ्गिति वद्यति प्रागेतस्मात् सूचावधेयदिति ऋर्षमनुकमिद्यामः,  
तत्र भूते लिङ्गनिचित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृद् वा भवतीर्थेतद्विकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liñ', the 'Liñ' may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वृत्ति by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with उत् and अति, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हयां लहपिजात्वोः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हयां, लट्, अपिजात्वोः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हयां गम्यतानायाम् अपिजात्वोरुपपदयोर्धातीलद्वप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हि means 'censure, 'blame'. The affix लृद् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general; which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषज्ञं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषज्ञं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्याद्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्ग, of course, we cannot employ लृद् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also अवि or जातु जायां त्यजति 'Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

**विभाषा कथनि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथनि, लिङ् च, (गर्हयां, लट्, बोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपदे गर्हयां गम्यमानायां धातोनिंज्ञप्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लिङ् च ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लिङ् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्टलं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्टलं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयाचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (निङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लिङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृष्टलम् अयाजयिष्यत् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to) sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लिङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अत्यनिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

**किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (ग-र्हयाम्, बोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपदे गर्हयां गम्यमानायां धातोनिंज्ञलृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word निङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लिङ्, whose anuvṛitti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvṛitti of निङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरि निन्देत्, निन्दिष्यति वा 'who will censure Hari ?

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लक्ष्य); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषभो व तत्र भवान् या जाजिद्यत् 'who is the Sūdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This sūtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

**अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्थयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवक्लृस्मि-अ-**  
**मर्थयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्गलृटौ, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपवेनवक्लृप्त्यमर्थयोर्द्वातोर्लिङ्गलृटौ मत्ययो भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवक्लृस्मि: means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्थः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्थयोः, the word अनवक्लृस्मि ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्थ (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यथासंख्य, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sūtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sūtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न अद्वधे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषभं याजयेत् or याजयिद्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sūdra'. न मर्थयामि तत्र भवान् वृषभं याजयेत् or याजयिद्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may *optionally* employ the Conditional (लक्ष्य), but *necessarily* so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषभनम् अयाजयिद्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

**किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्,**  
**(अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्थयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषुपपवेषु अनवक्लृप्त्यमर्थयोर्धातोर्लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किंकिल् is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किल् separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते। This rule supersedes the Potential (निङ्). Thus किंकिल् or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तत्र भवान् वृषभं याजयिष्यति, न सर्वयामि, न अद्वधे 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sūdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it.'

As there is no occasion for निङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (नृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न अद्वधे न सर्वयो वा किंकिल् स्वं शूद्राजम् भोह्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sūdra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रां गमिष्यति 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sūdra'.

**जातुयदोलिङ्गः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवक्तु-पृथमर्थयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यदियेत्योरुपपदयोरनवक्तुपृथमर्थयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोलिङ्गप्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ जातु यदोलिङ्गविधाने यदायद्योरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषभम् याजयेत्, or यज्ञाम तत्र भवान् वृषभम् याजयेत्, न अद्वधे, न सर्वयामि।

*Vart.*—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा स्वाहृशो हरि निन्देनावकल्पयामि न सर्वयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि स्वाहृशो हरि निन्देत् or अनिन्दिष्यन् नावकल्पयामि, न सर्वयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिमवास्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धम् तत्र रति रमविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किमस्मिन् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus'?

**यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोर्गम्यमानयोर्धातोलिङ्गप्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र या त्वमेवं कुर्याः न अहं, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (निङ्ग) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

**गर्हयां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हयाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोलिङ्गप्रस्त्रयो भवति गर्हयाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृष्टं याजयेत् नहूँ चृदः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, अहो अन्दाच्छमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brâhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sûdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र त्वं हर्ति निन्देः or अनिन्दित्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

**चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोरुपपदयोर्भित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोलिङ्गप्रस्त्रयो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरण means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृष्टं याजयेत् भाष्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्वर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजये: or भवाज्यिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Sūdra'; आश्वर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं भवाज्यिष्य: 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Sūdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृहयदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ शेषेऽप्यप्य चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने भातोन्नृप्रस्थयो भवति यदिशब्दव्यते युज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yattra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्वर्यं, चित्रं, अभूतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, बधिरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्येष्यते 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्वर्यं यदि सोऽधीयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्वर्यं यदि स भुज्जीत 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ्गः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,  
लिङ्गः ॥

दृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्द्वातोर्लिङ्गप्रस्थयो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of बाढम् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अप्यधीयीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत इङ्गः पतिष्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धार means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्गः) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ्गः (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्गः

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् must be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

**कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्चिति, (लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिन्नाय इत्यर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदनं प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकच्चित्वपदे धातोलिंह्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachchit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debars all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुजीत भवान् = अभिन्नाषो मे भुजीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्चित्'? Observe कच्चज्जीवति ते माता कच्चज्जीवति ते पिता । माराविह स्वा पृच्छामि कच्चज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O mārāvid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living':

**संभावनेऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावने, कियासु योग्यताऽध्यवसानंशक्तिभद्रानम्, तदेवानीमलमयेन विशेषते, तच्चेत् संभावनं पर्यातनवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धञ्चेवलमोऽप्रयोगः, कच्चासौ सिद्धं, यत्र गम्यते चायों न चासौ प्रयुज्यते, तदृशो सम्भावनोपपिकोऽयं वर्त्तमानाद्वातोर्जिङ्क्लृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alām'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलं. The word अलं means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावन must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोग qualifies अलं, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलं is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलं is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debars all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिरसा भिन्नात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि द्रोणाकं भुजीत 'I expect you will eat away even a *drona* of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलं 'competent to do'? Observe, विवेशस्थायी

देवदत्तं प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place".

**विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा,**  
**धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, इलिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥**  
**वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातादुपर्ये यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्धिभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अषि, or अपिनान्, is called सम्भावन-वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुज्जीत् or भोह्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुज्जीत् or भोह्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; अद्वद्ये भुज्जीत् or भोह्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यद् भुज्जीत् भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यद् is employed."

**हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥**  
**वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति चायं वर्त्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—सज्जिणेन चेवायान् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् भाहयेत् शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus इज्जिणेन चेद् यास्यति न शकटं पर्याभिव्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvṛitti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तोऽति पञ्चायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लूङ्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3, 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्गलोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्-  
लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषुपृष्ठेषु धातोलिङ्गलोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदनइति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थ &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि कामये or प्रार्थये मुख्यात् भवान् or मुड्कां भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

*Vart.*—It is only when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

**समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषुपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वष्टि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणि पतिम् भासुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say वैवहतं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यज्ञदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुज् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुज्ञानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

**लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ् च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषुपदेषु धातोन्निङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Lin' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुज्ञायि इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अधीर्योयते इच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

**इच्छार्थभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Lin) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise ज्ञद्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वष्टि or उश्यात्; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

**विधिनिमन्त्रणामन्त्रणाधीष्ट संप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विध्यार्थेषु धातोन्निङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

161. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधि: means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रण means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रण means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्ब्रः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus :—

(1) कर्तुं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; मासम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुज्ञीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत् 'here you will or may sit';

(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should descend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भौ व्याकरणमधीयीय उत तर्कम्? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीय 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

**लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट् च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ जोट् प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्विद्याहित्ययेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of जोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus :—

(1) कर्तुं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; मासं भवान् आगच्छतु !

(2 and 3) अमूलं भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रमभवान् अध्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भौ वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic?'

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोऽध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

**प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याश्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रैष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषाणं प्रैषः, कानचारामयनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालस्यावसरः प्राप्तकालः, एतेष्वयेषु धातोः कृत्यसंतकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kritya', and the affix 'Lot' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word वैष् means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word जोड् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kritya affix (III. I. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कटः 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kritya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generally to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that जोड् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an apavâda or special rule excludes an utsarga or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kritya* affixes; we would reply, that *kritya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. I. '94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kritya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. I. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and वैष्? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while वैष् means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषादिषु गम्यनानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके येऽर्थं वर्तमानाद्वातोलिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यथा प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kritya' and 'Lot') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhûrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sūtra, into this. Thus अधृतं मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कठं कुर्यात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c.', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गम्रासकालेषु, अधृतंनौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपयवे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमाने पूर्वमौहूर्तिकेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोलोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Lot' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिङ्ग) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्या). Thus अधृतं मुहूर्तव् भवान् कठं करोतु स्म, भाणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Māṇavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपयवेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोलोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्गः स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or अङ्गः स्म राजन्नन्होत्रं जुहुधि 'O ! King ! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषुपूर्वेषु धातोस्तुमुनप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velā' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as अवसरोऽयमात्मार्थं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time de-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c.' is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c.' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्थ 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix लिङ् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ् यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोऽनिंद्र प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Līñ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in '*tumun*'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेजा वा यद् भवान् भुखीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहे कृत्यवृच्छ ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहे, कृत्य-वृच्छः, च, (लिङ्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अहे कर्त्तरिवाच्ये गम्यमाने वा धातोः कृत्यवृच्छः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'lin').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this; from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोडन्या वाह्या or वहनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्या वोडा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्या वहेत् (lin) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would *a fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being specially enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकाधमर्ययोर्णिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-  
मर्ययोः, णिनिः ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यं भावविशिष्टे आधमर्यविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्णिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'ṇini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus भवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. I. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहकं दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

**कृत्याश्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकाधमर्थयोः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधमर्थयोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु भवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दातव्यं, देवी, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भवय, गेव &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

**शक्ति लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्ति, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तोर्थयोर्पाधिके धात्वयेऽलिङ्गप्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Linn' as well as the 'kritya' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो बोद्धव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं बहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. I. 94 is not universally valid.

**आशिषि लिङ्गलोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्ग-लोटौ ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्विशिष्टेऽथ वर्तमानाद्यातोर्लिङ्गलोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lun' and 'Lot' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीर्वाद् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्विंग् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ् which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्याद् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं: जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

**क्तिच्चक्तौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्तिच्-क्तौ, च, संज्ञा-याम्, (आशिषि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धृतोः क्तिच्चक्तौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus सन्तिः = तमुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4.45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्तिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्तिच्। Of words formed by क्त् in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देयासु: 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त् has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्तिच्। The च् of क्तिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्तिच् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

**माडि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माडि, लुङ् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ माड्यपपदे धातोलुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lun' comes after a verb when the word 'mān' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षित् 'let him not do' मा हर्षित् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicatory छ; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

स्मैत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माडि,  
लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माड्युपपरे धातोर्जङ्ग् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारलुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'mân' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lan' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत् or कार्षत्, 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत् or हार्षत्, 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्

## अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

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धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धात्वर्थानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेषज्ञभावः, तस्मिन्सति भवयाकालोक्ता  
अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमयाजित् have a past significance, i. e. they denote a person who *has already performed* the ceremony of Agnihotra. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agnihotra sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थं 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् ददर्श 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्ठोमयाऽयस्य पुत्रो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कर्तः भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् !

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्ठोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishtomayājī*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मत् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमत् meaning 'who *has* cows' or 'in which there *are* cows.' This word गोमत्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हि-स्वै वा च त-ध्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥  
क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वै, वा, च, त-ध्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्वातोलोटप्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वज्ञकाराणामपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः, तध्वमभाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Loṭ' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tā' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Loṭ'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसंबन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः ! This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त्); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and धृम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीहीर्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीर्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीर्येव त्वं लुनासि, युवाम् लुनीयः or यूर्यं लुनीय 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव यूर्यं लुनीय, अहं लुनामि, अयमलावीत् &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीष्वाते, इमे अधीष्वते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीष्वमधीष्वमित्येव यूर्यमधीष्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीयोगे, आवामधीयहे, वयमधीमहे।

The Intensive verbs in यद् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

**समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्,**  
**(लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तध्वमोः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयीयमान क्रियावचनाद्वातोरन्यतरस्यां लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वा-  
वारेण्यौ भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त् and धृम्। Thus भाष्वमट मठमट खक्कूमट स्थाल्यपिधानमटेत्येवायमटति or इमावटतः, or इमेऽटन्ति।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दोऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीयाते or इमेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीके,

छन्दोधीते, निहक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इमेऽधीयते । छन्दोधीये, व्याकरणमधीये, निहक्तमधीयेऽप्येषं, इत्येव स्वमधीये, युवामधीयाये, युवमधीभवे । छन्दोधीये व्याकरणमधीये, निहक्तमधीयेऽप्येषं, आवामधीयहे, चयमधीयहे ।

**यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् ज्ञोदविधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say नूनीहि लूनीहीर्येवायं द्विनन्ति; we must use a verb from the root लू 'to cut'. Such as लूनाति, &c. So also अधीक्षाधीष्व takes अधोते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

**समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-व-चनस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये ज्ञोदविधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus ओदैनं भृङ्गैव, सन्कूल्पिव, धानाः खादेत्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

**छन्दसि लुङ्गलङ्गलिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्ग-लङ्ग-लिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्ग-लङ्ग-लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus ऐवो ऐवेभिरागमत् (Rig. I. 1. 5.) 'O God Agni ! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगमत् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रवेतस्

इवं तेष्योऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c': (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (नुह) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अभिनय होतारमवृणीतां च जमानः। Here लङ् is used instead of लद्।

So also अथा ममार=अथ व्रियते। Here लिंद् is used instead of लद्।

**लिङ्गर्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गर्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गर्थे यत्र लिङ् विधीयते, विध्यादिहेतुहेतुमतोर्जित्ये वमादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये अन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिष्ठ (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिष्ठ (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. पताति विश्वत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवाति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिष्ठ, नेता, नेष्ठ, तक्षिष्ठ, उदधिं च्यावयाति।

**उपसंवादाशङ्कयोऽश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशंकयोः, च, (छन्दसि, लेट्)॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशंकायां च गम्यमानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसम्बाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus वदि मे भवानिदं कुर्व्याव् अहमपि भवत इहं दास्यानि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसम्बाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पश्नुनामीगौ ॥ मदपा एव वो यदा गृह्णान्तै ॥ मद्वेव रथान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यान्तै ॥ नेजिह्वायन्तो (or नेजिह्वायन्त्यो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk)=जिह्वाचरणेन नरकपात आशंकयते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvṛitti was understood in the last sūtra.

**तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन-वसेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन-कध्यैकध्यैन-शध्यैशध्यैत्तदै-तवेड्-तवेनः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन-असे-असेन-वसे-कसेन-अध्यै-अध्यैन-कध्यै-कध्यैन-शध्यै-शध्यैन-तवै-तवेड्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥**

तुमर्थे सेनसेअसेन-वसेकसेनध्यैअध्यैन-कध्यैकध्यैन-शध्यैशध्यैत्तदै-तवेड्-तवेनः, तत्र छन्दसि विषये धानोः सयादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz.—'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain', 'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven' and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से=से, सेन् and कसे ॥ (2) असे=असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अधै=अधै, अधैन्, कधै, कधैन्, शधै and शधैन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) सवे=तवेन् and तवेन ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and द् । The forces of क्, श् and द् have already been explained; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *uddatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197). Thus से is acute (III. I. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. I. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. I. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sārvadhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaraṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. I. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्'! The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, i. e. it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वक्षे रायः । (2) सेन्—तवेन्मेषं रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—अस्मे शूतं शुरदेन् जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे' (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्से—प्रेषे भगाय । (6) कसेन्—गर्वामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the नित् accent (VI. I. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे । (7 and 8) अधै, अधैन्—कर्मण्युपचारधै । (9) कधै—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवधै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कधैन्—श्रियधै । (11 and 12) शधै, शधैन्—पिबधै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह माद्यधै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—सोममिन्द्राय पातवै । (14) तवेन्—तं ते गर्भं हवामहे दशमे मासि सूतवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) सवेन्=गंतवे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्तवे ॥

प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयै, रोहिष्यै, अव्यथिष्यै, (तुमर्थ, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्यथिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avyathishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रये देवेभ्यो महीः (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + या + कै = प्रयै = प्रयातुम्। (2) अपासो-वधीनां रोहिष्यै। रुह + इष्यै = रोहिष्यै = रोहणाय। (3) अ + व्यथ + इष्यै = अव्यथिष्यै = अव्यथनाय।

दृशे विख्ये च ॥ ११॥ पदानि ॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थ, छन्दसि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्यते ॥

11. The words 'driše' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विख्ये सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम्। विख्ये त्वा हरामि = विख्यातुम्।

शकि णमुल्-कमुलौ ॥ १२॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, णमुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थ, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकोतौ धातावुपरवे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थं णमुल्-कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रवयत्वौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix णमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ण causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 115); and ल regulates the accent (VI. I. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क prevents guna and vriddhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अनिन् वै देवा विभाजं नाशक्रुत्वन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभज् + णमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम्। So also अपलुं नाशक्रुत्वन्, instead of अपलोमुम्।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्-कसुनौ ॥ १३॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थ, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरशब्द उपरवे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थं धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्मत्ययौ भवतः ।

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितोः = अभिचरितुम्। ईश्वरो विजिखः = विजिखितुम्। ईश्वरो विद्वः = वितर्दितुम् ।

कृत्यार्थं तवैकेन्केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थं, तवै-केन्-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्मणो, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थं छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्यं त्वन् इत्येते प्रवयत्वा भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kritya-affixes'.

The force of *kritya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाव) and 'object' (कर्मण्). Thus अन्वेतवै = अन्वेतव्यम्; परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै = नावगाहितव्यम्; विद्वक्षेष्यः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = सिद्धन्तव्यम्; शुभ्रेणः = शुभ्रयितव्यम्; कर्त्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्त्तव्यम्।

The affix तवै was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. 1. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिङ्ग एशप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावखयातव्यम्। अव + चक्ष + एश = अवचक्षे। The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेणूकं ब्रह्मदिवरिहुतमिजनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥१६॥ पदानि ॥  
भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इण्-कृञ्-बदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्षयते येन तस्मिन्नये वर्तमानेभ्य स्थाविभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे  
तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :—'sthā' (to stand), 'ip' (to go), 'kriñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्थे is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षणः qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्षयते थेन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातेवेद्यां सीदन्ति = भासमात्पः सीदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योवेतोराधेयः । कृञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकतोः । वद—पुरा प्रवदितोरम्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर—पुरा प्रचरितोराम्नीश्रीये होतव्याः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—आ होतोरप्रमत्स्तिष्ठति । तम—आ तमितोरासोत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 4. 2) । जन्—आ विजनितोः सम्बवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5).

स्फितदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्फित-दोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे,  
छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्फितदोर्दोत्वोर्भावलक्षणे ये वर्तमानयोश्चन्दसिविषये तुमर्थे कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

\* Thus विस्तृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विस्तृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आहृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जन्मय भ्रातृदः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंखरस्योः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां कृत्या ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-खरस्योः,  
प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, कृत्या ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपद्योर्धातोः तथा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvṛitti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अनं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खनु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अलं बाले रुहित्वा 'do not weep, O girl !

Why do we say 'when there are अनं and खलु'? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition'? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अनंरोदनेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. I. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pūjārtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माडो व्यतीहारे ॥१८॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माडः, व्यती-  
हारे, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माडो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्तमानादुश्चामाचार्याणां मतेन तथाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvā' is added to the root 'men' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमित्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + मे + कृत्वा = अप + मा + न्यप् = अप + मि + तुक् + य (VI. I. 45 and 71) = अप + मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvā*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मे॒ङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माड्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāshā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ई, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ई, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāsha ई॒प् must be regarded as ending in ई॑, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ए॑ (VI. I. 45), even while प् remains, ई॒प् does assume the form शा॒प् and is consequently, by the prohibition अशा॒प् in sūtra I. I. 20, forbidden to be termed शु॑।

**परावर्तयेते च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-येते, च, (कृत्वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्थ योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य धातोः तत्वा मत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation on the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावर्तयोगः । Thus अग्राप्य नदीन् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side.' Here the word पर्वत is qualified by the word नदी which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

**समानकर्तृकयेते: पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयेते:, पूर्व-  
काले, (कृत्वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समानःकर्ता यथोद्दृत्वर्थयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेभावयेवर्तमानाद्वातोः कृत्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥  
वार्त्तिंकम् ॥ आस्य व्यावाय स्वपिति सम्मील्य हस्तीस्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुक्त्वा ब्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा ब्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of *two* verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुक्त्वा, इत्वा ब्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुक्त्वति त्राहणे गच्छति देवदत्तः the 'Brāhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes *prior* action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus ब्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

*Vart.*—The phrase आस्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix कृत्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्षये खमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्षये, खमुल्, च,  
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीह्यविशिष्टेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'ktvā' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix कृत्वा into this sūtra. The affixes *ktvā* and *namul* express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं ब्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, पायं पायं ब्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यद्यनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,  
(कृत्वा, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दपदे धातोः कृत्वाण्मुलौ प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकांक्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, *ktvā* and *namul* are not used, when the word *yad* is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix *ktvā* also, though the affix *namul* is in immediate context. Thus यद्यं भुद्गत्ते ततः पचति, यद्यमधीते ततः प्रोते, having eaten, he cooks ; having read, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकांक्षा, we have यद्यं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् ! Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : "In connection with यद्, the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement."

विभाषयेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अथे-प्रथम-  
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अम् प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेष्यपूर्वेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः कृत्वाण्मुलौ प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pūrva'.

This is an *Aprdpta-vibhāshā*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अमे, प्रथमं, पूर्वं वा भोजं भुक्त्वा ब्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus अमे भुद्क्ते ततः ब्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. I. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhāshā* :—“The rule III. I. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvā* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule.”

Therefore, we cannot apply III. I. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of कृत्वा and एमुन्।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एमुन् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not कृत्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मण्याकोशे कृजः खमुन्॥२५॥ पदानि॥ कर्मणि, आकोशे, कृजः, खमुन्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपदे कृजो धातोः खमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति आकोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुन्, the efficient portion is अम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मु (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारमाकोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुनि खमुल् ॥ २६॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुनि, खमुल्, (कृजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादुर्येष्पूपदेषु कृजो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvṛtti from III. 4. 21. Thus खादुङ्कारं or जवाणकारं भुड्न्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वाहुम् is used ending with a म्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a म् must be added to the upapadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in उ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वादीम् कृत्वा यवागम् भुड्न्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागम् भुड्न्ते। Here though यवागम् is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वादी।

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुञ्च? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment मुम्'. To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment मुम् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix चित् and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुञ्च will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अस्वादीं स्वादीं कृत्वा मुड्न्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुड्न्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix त्ता in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुड्न्ते। All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुन्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, i. e. we cannot use the Passive construction; e. g. स्वादुङ्कारं यवागम्भुड्न्ते देवदर्शन will be wrong.

अन्यथैकथमित्यसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२७॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-  
कथम्-इत्यसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कर्मः, गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिष्पूपदेषु कृमो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathâ' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृञ्च valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, i. e. when without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथंकारं or इत्यंकारं भुड्न्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुड्न्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुड्न्ते।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुद्धके 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृत् could not be spared.

यथातथयोरसूयाप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथयोः, अ-  
सूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृजः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपदयोः कृजो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you ?' Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन !

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made'? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा एवं द्रष्टव्यसि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृत् would be valid'? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः, साकल्ये, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपवे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽयं दृशिविदोद्वाल्बोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यादर्गं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees i.e. all the girls seen'. आद्याणवेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brâhmaṇas as he knows, i.e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects'? Observe आद्याणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brâhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छ्रव उपवे विन्दते जीवते श णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jîv', (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

As यावद्वेदं मुन्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवमधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i.e. throughout his life'.

चर्मेदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि,  
गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चमोदरयोः कर्मणोहपपदयोः परयते एमन् न् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix '*namul*' comes after the verb '*pür*' (to fill), when the words '*charman*' and '*udar*' are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरुं भुक्ते 'he eats so as to fill his belly' ? चर्मपूरुं स्त्राणाति 'he spreads so as to cover the skin'.

वर्षप्रभाण ऊपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रभाणे,  
ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्यते द्वारा एष मुल् प्रस्थयो भवति ऊपश्चात्य पूर्यते रन्धतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चेद्वर्षस्य प्रमाणियता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix ‘*pamul*’ comes after the verb ‘*pür*’ (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long ‘*ū*’ of this ‘*pür*’ is elided.

Thus गोप्यस्पूर् or गोप्यस्मैं वृट्टो देवः 'it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)'. सीतास्पूर् or सीतास्मैं वृट्टो देवः 'it rained filling up all furrows'.

Why have we used the word अस्य 'of this pûr' in the sûtra? The long क of पूर् is to be elided, and not the long क, if there be any, of the *upapada*. Thus मृषिकाविजपूर् or मृषिकाविजप्रं दृष्टो देवः! Here the long क of मृ is not shortened.

चेले कूनोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चेले, कूनोपेः, (कर्मणि, गमुल्, वर्ष-  
प्रमाणे) ॥

वच्चिः ॥ कून्यो शब्दे उन्वने च, अस्माण्यन्ताद्वातोश्वेनापेषु कर्मसु उपपत्तेषु एमल् प्रत्ययो  
भवति वर्धमप्तमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix 'namul' comes after the causative of the root 'knûy' (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting 'clothing', in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्रोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root कूप् 'to wet'. Thus चेलक्रोपं वृष्टी देवः or वस्त्रक्रोपं or वसनक्रोपं &c. 'it rained so as to wet the clothes'.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः,  
(कर्मणि, गुम्ल) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कषेद्वातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकार्यं कषति 'he scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकार्यं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकार्यं कषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरुक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रुक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, गामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिष्पूपहेषु पिषेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when the words 'sushka' (dry), 'chûrnâ' (powder), and 'rûksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनटि = शुष्कं पिनटि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनटि 'he grinds to powder'; रुक्षपेषं पिनटि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कृज्यहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कृज्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, गामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूलं अकृतं जीवं इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपहेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कृज् ग्रहं इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो गामुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akrîta' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवाहं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, हनः, (गामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणे उपवै हन्तेद्वातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिवातं वेदि हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54)=पाणिना वेदि हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादवातं भूमि हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादधातं ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भसिधातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शस्यातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

**स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उषेषं पिनषि = उषकेन पिनषि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेषं पिनषि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

**हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृहणातेभ णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ते, करवर्ते or पाणिवर्ते वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तप्राहम् गृहणाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिप्राहम्, करमाहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

**स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥**

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्टाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोपोषं, पितृपोषं, मातृपोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. i. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणे बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, बंधः, (गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपते बधातेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बधाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कट्टबन्धं बधाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुटिबन्धं बधाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बधाति = चोरके बधाति।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बधातेद्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus क्रौचबन्धं बधाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मधूरिकाबन्धं बधाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अट्टलिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attalikā-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रीजीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रीः, जीव-पुरु-  
षयोः, नशि-वहोः, (गमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्त्रवाचिनोरुपपदयोः वथासंख्यम् नशिवहोद्वात्वोर्णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'nas' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'purusha' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनार्थं नश्यति=जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes i.e. dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, i.e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him=पुरुषः प्रेष्यो भूवा वहति'।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोऽः 'carried by a man'.

**ऊर्ध्वे शुष्पूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुष्पि-पूरोः, (कर्त्रीः, रामुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्वन्वचिन्युपपदे शुष्पूरोर्द्धत्वोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'sush' (to dry), and 'pūr' (to fill), when the word 'urdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृक्षः = ऊर्ध्वे शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare अर्द्धार्थशोषंहणवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III. 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

**उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्रीः, रामुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमा or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जनम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that of इव; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः। So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, भजनार्थं नटः 'he perished like a goat'. So also चूडकनाशम्, इन्तनाशम्, &c.

**कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूसमनूयोरित्येतदार्थं कषादिवः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययाः)। See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the other verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, दृतीयायां, (णमुल्) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, दृतीयायां, (णमुल्) ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'dans' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samasa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूळको-पदं शम् भुड्कन् or मूळकोनोपदंशम् भुड्कन् 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्धकोपवंशम् or आर्द्धकोपवंशम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूळक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपवंश, and 'instruments' of the verb भुड्कन्.

By the rule of वाऽसरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix क्ता (or its substitute व्यप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुल्. Thus मूळकोनो-परश्य भुड्कन् ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (णमुल्, दृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राण्युपधातः, वर्थानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातुनां समानकर्मकाणां दृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus इण्डोपधातम् गाः काज्ञयति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also इण्डेनो-पधातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, इण्डताडम् or इण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् इण्डेनोपहत्य, गोपालको गाः काज्ञयति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-  
पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (दृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वेभ्यः पीडरुधकर्षः सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारात् दृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'piḍ' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च। Thus पार्ष्वापरीङ्गे शोते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्ष्वयोरुपरीङ्गम् or पार्ष्वाभ्यामुपरीङ्गम्।

So also ब्रजोपरोधम् (or ब्रजे उपरोधम् or ब्रजेनोपरोधम्) गा॒ः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षे॑ (or पाण्यादुपकर्षम् or पाणिनोपकर्षम्) धाना॒ः संगृह्णाति॑। It is Bhvādi कृष्ण here, and not Tūdādi.

**समासत्तौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्त्यां, तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ समासत्तौ गम्यमानायां तृतीयासप्त्योरुपपद्योर्द्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति॑ ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्ति॑ means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशमाहम् (or केशेषु माहम् or केशैर्माहम्) युध्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तप्राहम् or हस्तेषु प्राहम् or हस्तैर्माहम्; so also अष्टिमाहम् 'taking a stick'; जोड्हमाहं &c. See II. 2. 21.

**प्रभाषे॑ च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रभाषे॑, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्त्यां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ प्रभाषे॑ गम्यमाने तृतीयासप्त्योरुपपद्योर्द्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति॑ ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure of length is intended.

The word प्रभाष्यम् means 'length or extension'. Thus दूधङ्गुलोत्कर्षे॑ (दूधंगुले उत्कर्षम् or दूधंगुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनति॑ 'he cuts pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

**अपादाने॑ परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने॑, परीप्सायां, (णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः॑ ॥ परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां अपादाने॑ उपपदे॑ धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति॑ ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word परीप्सा means 'haste, hurry'. Thus शुद्धयोत्थायं (or शृण्यात्य) धावति 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly रन्नापकर्षम् पवः पिवति 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. भ्रादूपकर्षमपूपान् भजति 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, आसनावृथाय गच्छति 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix तत्त्वा (त्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

**द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, खमुल्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्णमूलं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus बटिग्राहम् (or बटिं ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly लोधूग्राहम् or लोधुं ग्राहम्।

**स्वाङ्गेभ्रुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अभ्रुवे, (द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥**

बृत्तिः ॥ अधुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमूलं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Aceusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus भृष्टेष्यं कथयति 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. अक्षिनिकाण्म् जप्तति 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The स्वाङ्ग word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word अध्रुव means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुल् in the following, as *head* is not an अधुव् limb:—उत्तिष्ठत्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्रिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिक्रिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्रिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गयाचिनि द्वितीयान्तं उपयदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्रिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिपेष्य or उरःयेष्य युद्धन्ते = कृत्तमुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःयेष्य or शिरःप्रतिपेष्य ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिष्टिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥

विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, खमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्तं उपयदे विश्यादियो धातुयो एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्य-  
माने चार्यं गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means, the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विशि, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as vis &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words नित्य and वीप्त्य in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गोहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गोहगोहमनुप्रवेशमास्ते or गोहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेश-  
मास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पद् and स्कन्द्। Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहंगेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्)।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*? Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भृक्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *abhibhikshna* was meant; and *abhibhikshna* and *āsevā* mean the same thing i. e., 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix ज्ञा", that is not so. For ज्ञा would come by वाऽसरूप rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus—"विग्र, पत्, पद्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolute gerund in अम् (namul), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

**अस्यतिरूपोः क्रियान्तरे कालेषु ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-रूपोः, क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयार्या, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियान्तरवति क्रियान्तरः, क्रियाव्यवधायकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वये वर्त्तमानाभ्यामस्यतिरूपिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तेषु कालवाचिष्पूपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word क्रियान्तर means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus दृष्टहत्यास्ते or दृष्टहत्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, i. e. every third day'. So also दृष्टहत्ये or दृष्टहं तर्ये गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अस् and तृष्ण्'? Because the affix णमुल् will not be applied after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus दृष्टहत्योष्य भृक्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe अहरत्यस्येषून् गतः; here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe योजनमत्यस्य गाः पाययति 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i. e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is न्यप् and not णमुल्!

**नाम्न्यादिशिग्रहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाम्नि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वितीयान्त उपपदे आदिशेषं हेऽथ धातोण्मुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'ṇamul' comes after the roots 'ā-dis' and 'grah', when the word 'nāman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामादेशमाचडे 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नाममाह मामाहयति 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name)'.

\* अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने कृजः कृत्वाणमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥  
अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्याने, कृजः, कृत्वा-णमुलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्याने गम्यमाने करोते ज्ञाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'ṇamul' come after the root 'kṛi' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अयथाभिप्रेताख्यान means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i. e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix ज्ञा may be replaced by न्यप्. Thus we have three forms नीचैःकृत्य, नीचैःकृत्वा, or नीचैःकार्त. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृष्ट्वा नीचैः कृत्वा, नीचैः कृत्य or नीचैःकार्तमाच्छे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as आहण कथ्याते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृष्ट्वा॒ चैकृत्वा, चैकृत्य॑ कृत्य, or चैकृत्व॑ कार्तमाच्छे"! (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe चैकृत्वा॒ चैकृत्य॑ कृत्यसे पुनस्ते जातः। Here only ज्ञा is added. Why have we repeated ज्ञा in this sūtra, when in this chapter, by the rule of वास्त्र॒ चैकृत्वा॒ (III, 1. 94), ktvā would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of samāsa or composition, by the application of II, 2. 22. The repetition

of एमुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktvā* and *namul* runs concurrently.

**तिर्यक्ष्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृतः, कृत्वा-  
णमुलौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्ष्यद उपपदे कृतः जवाणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'kṛi', when the word 'tiryak' is in composition in the sense of 'carrying to the end'.

The word अपवर्ग means 'completing or finishing'. Thus तिर्यक् कृत्वा, तिर्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्त गतः 'having completed, he went away'.

Why do we say 'when meaning completion'? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काञ्च गतः 'having placed the wood obliquely, he went away'. Here एमुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the word-form तिर्यच्, and not of the word तिर्यचि. Other examples are: एतदोऽग् (V. 3. 5); अदसो मात् (I. 1. 12).

**स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कभ्वोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये,  
कृ-भ्वोः, (कृत्वा-णमुलौ) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्वतेभ्य भातोः जवाणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

61. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' (to make) and 'bhū' (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one's own body; when the affix 'tas' is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svāṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्— a *taddhita* affix technically called तसि and तसिल् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied i. e. जवा and एमुल्; yet the rule of 'respective allocation' (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारंगतः। Similarly पृष्ठतः भूय तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or पृष्ठतः भावं तिष्ठति।

Why do we say 'a word denoting a limb of one's own body'? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः।

Why do we say 'ending in the affix तस्'? Observe मुखीकृत्वा गतः, मुखी-भूय गतः।

Why do we use the word 'the affix'? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखे तस्यति = मुखतः 'throws in the mouth'. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः।

नाधार्थप्रत्यये च्छयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,  
कृवी-अर्थे, (कृभ्योः, कृत्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाधार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे च्छयर्थउपपदे कृभ्योर्धास्त्वोः स्तवाणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kṛi' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'dhâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' (to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition.

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्यम्, धम् and एधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in 'the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः: Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः: So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्या or विना कारं गतः: So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावे गतः: With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—दिधा or दैधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावे गतः: But not so in हिरक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाधार्थे च्छययें, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix णमुल् and स्तवा. But that is not so. Thus the words हिरक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिरक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काढानि गतः: ।

The word अर्थ in नाधार्थ qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा. The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (कृत्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णींग्रव्यउपपदे स्वतेर्थातोः स्तवाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tūṣṇīm' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णींभावम् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvṛitti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वच्यानुलोभ्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वचि, आनुलोभ्ये, (भुवः, कत्वा-समुला) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वक्षश्चदउपपदे भवतेषांतोरानुजोभ्ये तथाणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhû', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुजोभ्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूवा or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूवा तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शक्धृष्टज्ञारसाघटरभलभक्तसहार्हस्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥६५॥ पदानि ॥  
शक-धृष्ट-ज्ञा-रसा-घट-रभ-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिष्टुपपदेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा धानुमात्रात् तुमुनप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrîsh' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शकोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—रसायति—घटते—भावते—ज्ञाते—क्रक्तव्यते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikṣīṭa says अर्थमहण-मस्तिनैव सम्बन्धते अनन्तरखात् i. e. the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as भस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikṣīṭa's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निवेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयित्यस्त्यनभवत्यभपरादधुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न वेद सम्यग् द्रष्टुम् न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition.*

पर्यासिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्यासि-वचनेषु, अलम्-  
अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्यासिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषुपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रस्तययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्यासि means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus जिखितमपि जज्ञाते प्रोऽग्निश्चतुम् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. ज्ञोकान् अज्ञं इन्द्रियम् हि तत्पः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभवः सर्वं परितातुः (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशानः पटुर्वा 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्यासि or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *paryāpti*. Thus पर्यासी भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारत्यति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलमकृत्या ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्यासुम् भुज्ञक्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तृरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तृरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रवययाः कर्तृरि कारके भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like खयुन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like षुज्ञ and द्रव्य &c, (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्त्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; माही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्यगेयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥

भव्य-गेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तृरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दः कर्तृरि वा निपात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachaniya',

'upasthâniya', 'janya', 'âplâvya' and 'âpâtya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kriyâ* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जायते<sup>१</sup>सौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; आप्नाव्य = आप्नवते<sup>१</sup>सौ or आप्नाव्यमनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गेयो माणवकः सामा 'the boy is the singer of the Sâma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sâma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयो लतेवासी गुरुरोः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६४॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जकारा: कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as जट्, जिट्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The जः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ज्। By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गम्यते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गम्यते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or is in the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object ; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यक्तखलर्थाः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क्त-  
खलर्थाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः क्तखलर्थाश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhāva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कृत्यव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः भोदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also भाग्यिकव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शशितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त भोदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly त may be used in denoting the mere act; आसित्वं भवता 'you sat'; शशित्वं भवता 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल् (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषकरः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदांधभवं भवता and स्वांधभवं भवता !

After transitive verbs, the *kṛitya*, the *kta* and the *khālārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

**आदिकर्मणि चक्तः कर्तृरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, चक्तः, कर्तृरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः चक्तो विहितः स कर्तृरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the च may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus प्रकृतः कट देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्त औदृशं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्त औदृशो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्त देवदत्तेन (act).

**गत्यर्थकर्मकश्लिष्टशीढ़स्यासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ प-  
दानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष्ट-शीढ़-स्या-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च,  
(चक्तः, कर्तृरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थं धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिष्टाद्यत्यश्च यः चक्तः स कर्तृरि भवति, चकारात्ययाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'śliṣṭ' (to embrace), 'śi' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vas' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus गतो देवदत्तो आमम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देव-  
दत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only ; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus ग्नानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), ग्नानं भवता (object); आसितो

भवान् 'you sat' (agent), भासितं भवता (object); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपस्थितम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपशयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपशयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपशयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); अनूषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनूषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनूषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजाता माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरुदो वृक्षं भवान् (agent), आरुदो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरुदं भवता (act); अनुजीणो वृषभ्नो देवदत्तः (agent), अनुजीणी वृषभ्नो देवदत्तेन (object), अनुजीण्य देवदत्तेन (act). The verbs श्लिष् &c., become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोप्त्रौ संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोप्त्रौ, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोप्त्रौ शब्दौ सम्प्रदाने कारके निपात्यते ॥

73. The words 'dâśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix भव् under rule III. I. 134. This being a कृत्वा word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly *goghna* does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word *goghna* which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word *goghna* which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandâl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोप्त्रः = संस्मै दातुं गां प्रत्यन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपात्यन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhîma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unādi* affixes. Thus भी+मक्=भीम (Un. I. 145, 148); भी+षुक्+मक्=भीम (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unādi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhimādi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयावकः (Un. III. 82), वरुः, चरुः,

(Un. I. 7), भूमिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दनः, प्रपतनः, समुद्रः, कृचः, ओरुवः (Un. II. 61), कृक् (Un. II. 62) खलतिः ।

**ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥१५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शब्दास्तामापादानसंप्रशानाम्यामन्यत्र कारके भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Unādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampraddāna* also. For, had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apādāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampraddāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ=कृषि: (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति=तन्तुः (Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out'; वृत्तमिति वर्त्मे (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

**क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौद्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ १६॥ पदानि ॥**

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौद्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौद्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यथापाहं च ध्रौद्यार्थेभ्यः कर्त्तभावाधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्त्तव्यकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौद्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितं तेन 'sitting by him (act); इवमेषामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो यामः 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन यामः (passive); यातं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इवमेषी यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इवमेषां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्ता ब्राह्मणाः । वीता यातः । The भा in भुक्ता and वीता has the force of नतुप् (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तमेषामसित or पीतमेषामसित ।

**लस्य ॥ १७॥ पदानि ॥ लस्य ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्येत्वयमधिकारः, यहित कर्त्तव्यमनुक्रमिष्यामो लस्येत्वयेवं तद्वेहितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word जस्य meaning 'of ज'. It is an *adhibhāra* sūtra. The word जस्य is the genitive singular of ज, the अ in ज being for the sake of pronunciation. The ज means the ten affixes: ज् present, जिद् perfect, जुद् first future, जूद् second future, जोऽ imperative जेद् Vedic subjunctive, जङ्ग् imperfect, जिङ्ग् potential and benedictive, जुङ्ग् aorist, जूङ्ग् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory इ, and four have indicatory ह।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word जस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ज'।

तिसस्मिसिप्यस्यमिद्वस्मस्ताताभ्यासाथामध्वमिहिड्  
॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-फि-सिप्-यस्-य-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-भ-  
यास्-आथाम्-धवम्-इट्-वहि-महिड्, (लस्य) ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ जस्य तिवाद्य भावेशा भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la':— 'tip', 'tas', 'jhi'; 'sip', 'thas', 'tha'; 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta', 'ātām' 'jha'; 'thās', 'āthām', 'dhvam'; 'it', 'vahi', mahiñ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II. 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or ज् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The ष in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the इ in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽत् (III. 4. 106); and the ह in महिड् for forming the *Pratyāhāra* तिड् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses :—

PRESENT TENSE.—ज् ।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्		ए	वहे	महे
2nd.	सि	यस्	य		से	भाये	ध्वे
3rd.	ति	तस्	भन्ति		ते	भाते	भन्ते

## IMPERFECT OR FIRST PAST.—लङ्।

## Parasmaipada.

## Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	व	म	इ	वहि	महि
2nd.	"	तम्	त	यास्	आयाम्	ध्वम्
3rd.	"	त्	ताम्	भन्	आताम्	भन्त

## POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ्ग।

1st. pers.	याम्	याव	याम्	ईय	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd.	"	यास्	यातम्	ईयास्	ईवायाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd.	"	यात्	याताम्	ईत्	ईयाताम्	ईरन्

## IMPERATIVE.—जोड़।

1st. pers.	आनि	आव	आम्	ऐ	आवहै	आमहै
2nd.	"	हि	तम्	है	आयाम्	ध्वम्
3rd.	"	हु	ताम्	हन्तु	ताम्	भन्ताम्

## PERFECT OR SECOND PAST.—निंद।

1st. pers.	अ	व	म	ए	वहे	महे
2nd.	"	ध	धपुस्	धे	आये	ध्वे
3rd.	"	अ	अतुस्	उस्	आते	इते

## FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—कुट्।

1st. pers.	तासि	तास्वस्	तास्मस्	ताहे	तास्वहे	तासहे
2nd.	"	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य	तासे	तासाये
3rd.	"	ता	तारौ	तारस्	ता	तारौ

## SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—जृट्।

1st. pers.	स्वामि	स्वावस्	स्वामस्	स्वे	स्वावहे	स्वामहे
2nd.	"	स्वसि	स्वथस्	स्वय	स्वये	स्वध्वे
3rd.	"	स्वति	स्वतस्	स्वनि	स्वते	स्वन्ते

## AORIST OR THIRD PAST.—जुड़।

1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	सा	सि	स्वहि	सहि
2nd.	"	सीस्	स्वतम्	स्वत्	स्वास्	सायाम्
3rd.	"	सीत्	स्वताम्	स्वत्	स्वत्	साताम्

## PRECATIVE OR BENEDICTIVE.—भाशीर्जिड़।

1st. pers.	यासम्	यास्व	यास	सीय	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd.	"	यास्	यास्तम्	यास्त	सीष्यास्	सीध्याम्
3rd.	"	यात्	यास्ताम्	यास्तु	सीष्ट	सीयास्ताम्

## CONDITIONAL.—लृट्।

1st. pers.	स्वम्	स्वाव	स्वाम	स्वे	स्वावहि	स्वामहि
2nd.	"	स्वस्	स्वतम्	स्वत	स्वथास्	स्वध्याम्
3rd.	"	स्वत्	स्वताम्	स्वत्	स्वते	स्वन्त

टित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥७९॥ पदानि ॥ टितः, आत्मनेपदा-  
नाम्, टे:, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतो ज्ञकारस्य स्थाने वान्यात्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारादेशी भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 't'.

The ज्ञ or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory इ are six:—ज्ञट्, ज्ञिट्, ज्ञुट्, ज्ञट्, ज्ञोट्, ज्ञेट् । In these tenses the final portion called टि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes त्ते, आत्मा॒ बecomes आते, झ becomes झ्ते &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes शानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पचमानः, यजमानः? Because the word आत्मने-पदानां in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra तिट् ।

शास्त्रे ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ शासः, से, (लस्य, टितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इतो ज्ञकारस्य वस्थास्तस्य सेशब्दं आदेशी भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thâs' in those tenses that have an indicatory 't'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada धास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पचसे, पेचिषे, पक्षासे, पहयसे ।

लिटस्तक्षयेरेगिरेच् ॥८१॥ प० ॥ लिटः, त-क्षयोः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञिडावेशायोस्तक्षयोर्यथासंख्येश्वरेच् इत्येतावादेशी भवतः ॥

81. The words 'es' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त (I. i. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. i. 165). Thus पेचे, पेचाते वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां णालतुसुस्थलयुसणलव्माः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मै-  
पदानां, णाल-अतुस-उस-यल-अयुस-अ-णाल-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ज्ञिडावेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां यथासंख्यं लिङ्गादीनां एतादयो नवादेशा भवन्ति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing.	ṇal (अ)	thal (थ)	ṇal (अ)
Dual.	atus (भतुः)	athus (भथुः)	vā (व)
Plural.	us (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory ज् in पाज् and धज् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ए् is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25). Thus पपाच, पेचतुः, पेचुः, पेचिय or पपक्य, पंचयुः, पेच, पपाच or पपच, पेचिव पेचिम।

**विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थलयुक्तगालवमाः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ विद जाने, अस्माद्गानोः परेषां लडावेशानां परस्मैपदानां एतादयो नव विकल्पे-नावेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्य or वेत्सि	वेद or वेत्पि
Dual.	विद्तुः or वित्तः	विद्युः or वित्यः	विद्ध or विद्धः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्य	विभ or विभः

**ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहे ब्रुवः ॥ पथ्या पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थल०, लटः, वा) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पंचानामादिभूतानां पंचैव एतादय आवेशा भवन्ति, तत्सन्नियोगेन च ब्रुव आहशब्द आवेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brū' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'āha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brū'.

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्य 'thou sayst'; आहयुः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or अवीति	आत्य or अवीषि	अवीभि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आहयुः or ब्रूयः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूय	ब्रूमः

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रुवः in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

**लोटो लङ्घवत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्घवत् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जोटो नङ्घवत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an अतिक्रेश sūtra; as in the ज्ञात् there are the affixes ताम्, तम्, त, व and म, so also in the ज्ञोद्! Thus पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाव, पचाम्!

Q.—If जोट् is like जट्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुस् for हि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of जोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between जोट् and जट् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to जट् equally applicable to जोट् also.

**एरुः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जोडावेशानामिकारस्य उकारावेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिंस्योरुत्प्रतिषेधो वस्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, अन्ति becomes अन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

*Vārt.*—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of जोट्। In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and हि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sūtra applies.

**सेर्हेचपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ से:, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ जोडावेशस्य सेर्हिं इत्यथमावेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प।

Thus लुनीहि, पुनीहि, राम्भुहि, तक्षणुहि; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it छित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

**वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेर्हेचपित्, लोटः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशशब्दन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपिह्वति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chandas the second person singular of जोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; शुयुधि or शुयोधि, हि being substituted for हि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अभ्ये नवं सुपर्थत्रावेऽभ्यस्मान्विष्वानिवेव ब्रुयूनानिविद्वान् ।

यु योध्युस्मद्गुहुराणमेनोभूयित्वान्ते नमऽउक्तिमिवधेम ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1 : Yajur Veda, 40, 16.

**मेर्निः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ मे:, नि�:, (लोटः) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ लोडावेशस्य मेर्निरावेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into ए, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पठानि।

**आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य भास्मित्यवावेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'am' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेतःम्, पचन्ताम्।

**सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥ ९१ ॥ प० ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुत्तरस्य लोट् सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व अम् इत्येतावावेशो भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have एव, and for एवे we have एवम्; see the table; thus पचत्वा, पचत्वम्।

**आहुत्तमस्य पिच्च ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पित्, च, (लोटः) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्याडागमो भवति स चोत्तमपुरुषः पिच्च वति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'āt̄' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम्। Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम्; करवै, करवावहै, करवामहै।

**एत् ए ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ए, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ लोडुत्तमसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारवेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'ai' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवै, करवावहै, करवामहै।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ए॒। Thus पचाव + इवम् = पचावेवम्, पचाम + इवम् = पचामेवम्। Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1. 85, being the substitute of अ of म and व. But this is not to be changed into ए॒ on the maxim that this ए॒ is the result of a बहिरङ्ग् rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. I. 87), is a वहिरङ्गः rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्गः rule; because of the following Paribhāshā, अस्तिद्वं वहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गः 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.'

लेटो इडाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटावागमौ भवतः पर्यावेष ॥

94. The augments 'at̄' and 'ât̄' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिष् + अट् + त् = जोषिष्ट्; तारिष्ट्, मान्दिष्ट्; similarly पत् + आट् + ति = पताति; च्यावयाति । See III. I. 34 for the addition of सिष् in the above.

आत् ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन आकारस्य एकारावेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'i' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे, करवैते, करवैये । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य वा एकारावेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरो विधिरपेक्ष्यते । भात् ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत् ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus शब्दै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शब्दै, अहमेष पशुनामीशै, मद्या एव वो महा गृद्धान्तै, महेवत्यान्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यान्तै । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as अच क च ते मनो इन्नम् वधसउत्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैये ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट्-संवंधिन इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति वानुवृत्तेः पक्षे श्वसणमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिष्ट् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिष्ट् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्दिष्ट् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विष्ट् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उदधि च्यावयाति । The इ of इट्, वहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

स उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा ज्ञोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं डितः ॥ ९९ ॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, डितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ डितो जकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य ज्ञोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory इ are four, namely, इड्, निड्, लुड् and लूड् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (डितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ डिल्लकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं ज्ञोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Parasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'n'.

Thus, for सि we have ई, for सि we have ई, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपक्षत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्यमिपां तान्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-मिपाम्,  
तां-तं-त-आमः, (डितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिल्लकारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्हाँ यथासंख्यं तामादय आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'ām' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'mip' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचताम्, अपचतम्, अपचत, अपचम्, अपक्षाम्, अपक्षम्, अपक्ष, अपक्षम् ।

लिङ्गस्सीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गः, सीयुट् ॥  
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गादेशानां सीयुडगमो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'siyut'.

The ए् of सीयुट् is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The ए् is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the स् of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the ए् also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have पचेत्, पचेयात्तम्, and by III. 4. 105, पचेरन्। In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus पक्षीइ, पक्षीयास्ताम्, पक्षीरन्।

यासुट् परस्मैपदेषुदात्तो डित्त ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट् परस्मै-  
पदेषु, उदात्तः, डित्, च, (लिङ्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदविषयस्य लिङ्गो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवाप्तिः सचोदात्तो भवति, डित्तच ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsut' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'n'.

This debars सीयुट्; the एट् of यासुट् is indicatory; the real augment is यास्. All augments being anudâtta, the present sûtra therefore especially uses the word udâtta to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though लिङ्ग् has an indicatory ए्, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory ए्, the repetition of the word डित् in this sûtra shows the existence of the paribhâshâ "that the ए् belonging to ल does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of लङ्, लिङ्ग्, लुङ् and नृङ् are not to be regarded as having an indicatory ए् (लकाराश्रवडित्वमादेशानां न भवति). In the Potential, the स् of यासुट् is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms कुर्यात्, कुर्यात्तम्, and by applying III. 4. 108 and VI. 1. 96, कुर्यस्। For the Benedictive लिङ्ग् the following sûtra applies.

किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङ्गः, यासुट्,  
उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ्ग् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किद्दद्वति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsut' comes after that 'lin' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'lin' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The कित् of this sûtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment यासुट्, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already डित् by the last rule. डित् and कित् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛiddhi, but डित् is distinguished from कित् inasmuch as डित् causes the guṇa of जाग् (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इव्यात्, इव्यास्ताम्, इव्यासुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यस्ताम् and जागर्यसुः। In the Potential, वच्यात् (no samprasāraṇa); in the Benedictive, उच्यात् (vocalisation). So also जागृयात् in the Potential.

भस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भस्य, रन्, (लिङ्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वास्य लिङ्गावेशस्य रचित्यव्यमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Līṅ' (Potential and Benedictive).

The श in other places, is replaced generally by अन्त् (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्ग, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, यजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङ्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गावेशस्य इटोऽवित्यव्यमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, यजेय, कृषीय, हृषीय।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the हिन्दक्षि, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्पहणे नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तियोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-योः, (लिङ्गः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गं संबन्धिनोस्तकारथकार्योः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'sut' is added to the affixes 'ta' and 'tha' when part of the affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ् are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ् are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्ग्।

The augment सीयुट् is applied to लिङ्ग् as such; in other words, लिङ्ग् is

there the आगमी; but in the case of सुट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त् and थ् are the आगमी। The scope of सीयुर् and सुट् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the इ of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीऽ, कृषीयास्ताम्, कृषीरन्, कृषीष्टाः, कृषीयास्याम्। In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 2. 79.

**भेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भे:, जुस्, (लिङ्:) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गावेशस्य झेर्जुस् आवेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पचेयुः, यजेयुः।

**सिच्यस्तविदिभ्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (भेर्जुस्) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संक्षेपो यो वेत्तेश्वोत्तरस्य जुसावेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicator 'n') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sich', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the नड् and लुड्।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच्। The word फितः of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (नड्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः। Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अविमयुः, अंजिहयुः, अजागहुः। In the case of विद्, we have अविदुः।

**आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, (भेर्जुष्, सिच्) ॥**  
वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य झेर्जुसावेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sich' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अहुः, अधुः, अस्युः। In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of झि where the verbs end in long आ। In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace झि।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace ज्ञि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्। Thus, अभूवन्। Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. I. 62)', जुस् would have replaced ज्ञि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः।

लङ्: शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङ्:, शाकटायनस्य, (भैः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाकारान्तावृत्तरस्य लङ्गावेशस्य झोर्जुसावेशी भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākatā�ana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ा'.

Thus अयुः, अवुः। In the alternative, we have अवान् and अवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to द्वित् tenses, of which लङ्, being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other द्वित् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ्, as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लङ्। Thus लोट् is treated like लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the ज्ञि of लोट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus विष्यतु, जापतु, विवन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषञ्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङ्:, शाकटायनस्य, झेर्जुस्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लङ्गावेशस्य झोर्जुसावेशी भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākatāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्-शित्-सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ प० ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम्॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 's', are called 'sārvadhātuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्वित् affixes &c. Thus, स्वप्ति, रोहिति, पचमानः, पथमानः। लिङ् and आशीर्जिङ् are exceptions.

आर्द्धधातुकं शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङः शितश्च वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्दनेन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tin', and those with an indicatory 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ardhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes त्, तुम्, तव्यम् &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—जविता, जवितुम्, जवितव्यम् । Here the augment इट् is added, because of these affixes being called *ardhadhātuka* by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛitti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of sārvadhātuka and ardhadhātuka; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix न्याम् when added to the noun ज्, is not called an ardhadhātuka affix, and therefore we have लूप्याम्, लूप्निः &c. Had these affixes been ardhadhātuka, they would have caused the gunā of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes सं and ता in the words वृक्षसं and वृक्षता are not ardhadhātuka affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इट् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5, the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिन् and किन् । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called ardhadhātuka, and does not take the augment इट्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निङ्डादेश्वस्तिङ्डार्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ardhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called sārvadhātuka and, being ardhadhātuka, some of them take the augment इट्; as पैचिथ, शैकिथ । Moreover by their being ardhadhātuka they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शृण् &c.

So from रहै (रला, VI. 1. 45) we have जर्ले; here the भा is elided by VI. 4. 64, the affix being treated as ardhadhātuka; similarly मर्ले from म्लै ।

लिङ्गाशिषि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'lin' are called 'ardhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ardhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called sārvadhātuka. Being ardhadhātuka they take the augment इट्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikaraṇas शृ॒प् &c. Thus from the root लू॑ 'to cut', we have in the आश्रीजिङ्ग्, लविसीट; and from the root पू॑ 'to purify', पविष्टीट. But in the विधिलिङ्ग् (Potential), we have the proper Vikaraṇas &c. as लूनीयात्, पुनीयात् ।

द्वन्द्वस्युभयथा ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वन्द्वसि, उभयथा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वन्द्वसि विषये उभयथा भवति सार्वधातुकमार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of 'sārvadhātuka' and 'ārdhadhātuka' is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* affixes. Sometimes the तिङ् and शित् are treated as if they were *ārdhadhātuka*. Thus वर्धन्तु स्वा सुषुत्यः। Here the affixes of the ज्ञोट् are treated as *ārdhadhātuka* and consequently there is the elision of the णिच् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वर्धयन्तु। Sometimes *ārdhadhātuka* affixes are treated like *sārvadhātuka* affixes; as विगृहित्वरे; here the affixes of the ज्ञिङ् are treated as *sārvadhātuka* and so there is the Vikaraṇa भू and the त is changed into त्। Thus, वि॒+भु॒+भु॒+इरे॑=वि॒+शू॒+तु॒+इरे॑ (III. 1. 74) = वि॒+शू॒+त्व॒+इरे॑ (VI. 4. 87)=विशृ॒ण्वरे॑। Similarly, सुन्विरे॑। The ज्ञिङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sārvadhātuka* and *ārdhadhātuka* at one and the same time; as उपस्थेयाम् शरणं वृहन्तम्। Here, by treating the affix as *sārvadhātuka*, there is elision of स in the ज्ञिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ārdhadhātuka*, the आ of स्था is changed into ए॑। So also in स्वस्ति the affix is treated as *sārvadhātuka* and there is no substitution of भू for भस् as required by II. 4. 52.







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